UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

MAR. 24, 1947

New Republic

1947

The Fight for Peace Begins

15 CENTS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Irwin Edman

In his delightful new book the author of *Philosopher's Holiday* inquires informally into the process of finding one's beliefs. Writing always in the most urbane and personal terms, he opens tempting avenues of thought as he chats intimately about people, and the things men seek and live by. One feels here the warmth and wisdom of a fine mind and spirit, at ease among ideas that have moved the world. $3.00

Philosopher's Quest

Sylvia Townsend Warner

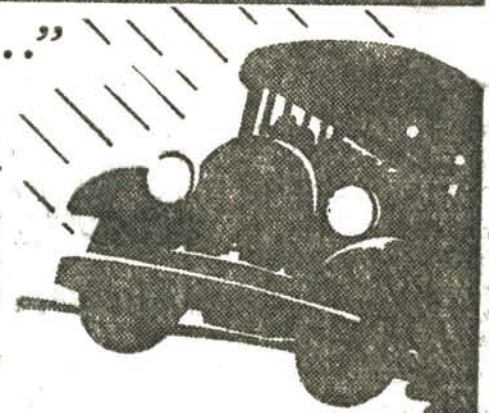
For the connoisseur of cool and impeccable prose, of delicate, acid wit, these twenty-three stories will be a rare pleasure. Her first collection in more than three years, this new volume by the author of *Lolly Willowes* and *Mr. Fortune's Maggot* reveals afresh Miss Warner's imaginative subtlety and her amazing range of subject. $2.50

THE Museum OF Cheats

THE VIKING PRESS — At all booksellers

"The new novel we have all been waiting for..."

by John Steinbeck



"Every page of it carries the unmistakable seal and signature of John Steinbeck's mind and style... the work of a writer as distinctively American as Mark Twain, who has developed in power and dramatic talent for almost twenty years."

—HARRISON SMITH, *Saturday Review of Literature*

Book-of-the-Month Club Selection $2.75

The WAYWARD BUS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR MARCH 24, 1947

News in Focus	5	Truman Doctrine
	7	Moscow Report
	10	Rugged George McNear
Washington Wire	11	Turning Point in History
Henry Wallace	12	The Fight for Peace Begins
General Articles	14	Greece and the Middle East
	17	Vet Divorces: by William K. Reed Jr.
	20	Jake Arvey: by Arthur Hepner
	26	Atom in Peace: by Philip Morrison
	30	Budget Troubles: by Bernard Posner
Cartoon	24	Marshall at Moscow
Books in Review	32	First Aid for Communists
	33	Midwest Dynasty
	34	Fiction Chronicle
	35	B. Traven's Identity
United Nations News	36	International Grievances
Farm	37	Reciprocal Trade
Labor	38	Inside the CIO
Music	39	Operatic Production Line
Theatre	40	Not Experimental
Movies	41	Murder, She Says
Etcetera	3	Letter of the Week
	42	Correspondence
	44	Bandwagon

EDITOR: *Henry A. Wallace*
PUBLISHER: *Michael Straight*
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: *William D. Patterson*
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: *Bruce Bliven*
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: *Francis Brennan*
MANAGING EDITOR: *Norman Grieser*
WASHINGTON EDITOR: *Helen Fuller*
SENIOR EDITORS: *William Harlan Hale, Robert Hatch, Penn Kimball, James R. Newman, Theodore H. White*
ASSOCIATE EDITORS: *George Mayberry, Nathan Robertson*
ASSISTANT EDITORS: *Jane Bedell, Heinz Eulau, Graham Hovey, Elizabeth Huling, Thomas Whiteside*
STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: *Tris Coffin, Malcolm Cowley, Ralph G. Martin, Angus McDonald, Thomas F. Reynolds, Vincent Sheean, Willard Shelton, Stark Young*
TREASURER: *Daniel Mebane*
ADVERTISING MANAGER: *E. G. Wood*
CIRCULATION MANAGER: *Eric Shumway*
PRODUCTION MANAGER: *Anthony J. Ballo*

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1947, IN THE U. S. A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 15¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADA AND FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

Letter of the Week

Dark Dominance in Jamaica

The author of this letter, Marc T. Greene, is an editor of the Providence, Rhode Island, Journal.

SIR: Being a visiting newspaperman on a Caribbean tour, I went around to make the acquaintance of the local press fraternity in the lively port of Kingston, capital of the British Crown Colony of Jamaica. I asked for the editor.

"Yes, sir," said a mulatto girl behind the counter in the business office. "Yes, sir. Mr. Seeley. Upstairs, please."

I ascended a short flight. There was the city room, large, with open windows, revolving fans and high ceiling. There were three white men at desks. All the others were Negroes or part Negro. I asked for Seeley. He was pointed out. He was a colored man, at least half-African, the editor of the famous Jamaica *Gleaner* that has been going without a break for more than 130 years. And under him were working, as reporters, copy-readers and such, a dozen or so white men—British at that.

So this was Jamaica, the land of no color line, of a few thousand whites among a million and quarter "non-Europeans"—as Prime Minister Smuts would say—of complete and unrestricted intermingling of the races, even socially, of interracial marriage, of white men working under colored bosses, of strong colored representation in the government, of dark dominance in many respects—and of Alexander Bustamente.

Bustamente has brought about a good deal of this; he has developed a distinct political and social consciousness in the dark race in Jamaica and gained for the long underpaid native worker a good wage scale. He himself is of part Negro blood. His origin is a matter of debate in Jamaica; the majority opinion is that he is Cuban.

Bustamente has flouted some of the choicest social traditions of the British Empire and has driven a wedge into

(Continued on page 46)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Extremely well done . . . the cumulative effect is terrific."
—*N. Y. TIMES*

A ROOM ON THE ROUTE

A NOVEL OF MODERN RUSSIA BY
Godfrey Blunden

JOHN DOS PASSOS telegraphs—"Just finished reading A ROOM ON THE ROUTE—really first-rate writing—one of the few important novels of generations tells us a story we must understand before it is too late. Reading it I found myself back in Moscow among Russians I knew there in less terrible times. The people ring true; the city, the cold, the hardship and the terror ring true. Blunden is the only writer who has been able to make us feel in our bones the realities of Soviet life." $3.00

"A remarkable, and even exciting, novel in which everyday existence in Moscow during the war is made to seem as real as life in New York or Minneapolis . . . An important as well as a deeply moving piece of work."
—*New Yorker*

"Bound to be widely read and discussed."
—*New York Post*

"The characters excite compassion they're so human."
—*N. Y. World Telegram*

2nd Large Printing

The Aerodrome

A novel by
REX WARNER
author of
Return of the Traveller

"A steady narrative thrust and a controlled atmosphere of excitement . . . Uncommon, stimulating and satisfying . . . Many books are called important. I sincerely believe that this one is."—BEN RAY REDMAN, *Saturday Review of Literature.* $2.75

At all bookstores

THE SHORE DIMLY SEEN

By Ellis G. Arnall

"Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson brought up to date in terms of education, soil erosion, freight rates, the Tennessee Valley, and true democracy."
—HENRY A. WALLACE
$3.00

4th Large Printing

The War Reports

OF GENERAL MARSHALL, GENERAL ARNOLD AND ADMIRAL KING

All nine official reports by the men responsible for waging the war, now available in a single permanent volume. "An authentic story of the war which will have to be consulted by anyone interested in the conflict."—*Chicago Tribune.* Profusely illustrated. Foreword by Walter Millis. $7.50

PHILADELPHIA **J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY** NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

VOLUME 116, NUMBER 12, ISSUE 1686. NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 24, 1947

News in Focus

The Truman Doctrine

National Policy

HARRY TRUMAN'S "fateful hour" struck upon a nation stunned by the sudden alarms of yet another war. The crisis which the President toted up Capitol Hill last week had mounted swiftly. The President is customarily proud of his split-second judgments. This time only history could measure the span before the final, mournful tolling of the bell.

Seldom had the US been alerted on such meager notice. The grim occasion and its climax speech had whispered its way to the attention of the American people.

With the confidential manner of a D-Day briefing, General Dwight D. Eisenhower beckoned in a small, carefully culled group of Washington correspondents to pave the way. The President himself guardedly summoned congressional leaders for a serious secret chat. The State Department was hushed with the gravity of the expectant moment. Washington was smothered under gusts of apprehension.

When, at last, the President jounced into the crowded chamber of the House, the courteous applause crackled in the kindling tension. Then, for 18 minutes, Harry Truman's even monotone spelled out the new and momentous decisions of his Administration

The President's sober phrases were sometimes disjointed, as though many hands had labored over the manuscript from which he read. Actually, at least four men had helped to fashion it—Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson, Presidential Counselor Clark Clifford, General Eisenhower and—before leaving for Moscow—Secretary Marshall. In Harry Truman's dry delivery the march of disaster often seemed a sprint against the clock. Yet the ominous beat was unmistakable.

"The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority. . . . The Greek government is unable to cope with the situation. . . . Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy. . . . The United States must supply this assistance. . . .

"The future of Turkey as an independent and economically sound state is clearly no less important to the freedom-loving peoples of the world than the future of Greece. . . . Turkey now needs our support . . . for the purpose of effecting that modernization necessary for the maintenance of its national integrity. That integrity is essential to the preservation of order in the Middle East. . . . Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far-reaching to the West as well as to the East."

The price of quarantining East from West, said Harry Truman, was $250 million to Greece and $150 million to Turkey. To clinch the bargain the President asked authority to send American civilian and military personnel into both countries "for the purpose of supervising the use of such financial and material assistance as may be furnished." The hulking figure of the Chicago *Tribune's* Robert Rutherford McCormick, lodged in the spectators' gallery, hunched over the implications of these commitments.

The President reminded Congress that victory in World War II ("our victory" was his unmagnanimous description) was "won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations." Without accusing the Soviet Union by name, Harry Truman created a suspicion that our onetime Russian ally ought properly to have been on some other side in that struggle.

"One way of life is based upon the will of the majority. . . . The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. . . . I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures. . . . The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world."

This, then, was the Truman Doctrine.

Some editorialists compared it approvingly with the declaration made in 1823 by President Monroe in behalf of the "free peoples" of the Western Hem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

isphere. The Monroe Doctrine stood as a historical US statement against the repressive European governments of its time—the "Holy Alliance" contrived by dissolving tyrannies in Russia, Prussia, Austria and Spain. By a strange twist the Truman Doctrine had upturned the principle. The US was now ready to excuse unholy alliances of its own by adopting the apology that the end might justify the means.

The Truman Doctrine's first magnificent gesture was to be the democratic US Government's majestic undertaking in behalf of the survivors of an old and wretched order—the royalist office-holders pledged to King George II of Greece and the authoritarian rulers of the Turkish police state (see page 14). Its noble result would be to guarantee the politics of Europe against all forms of improvement. Repression, as long as it might represent itself as anti-Comintern, could count on the support of Harry Truman's method for sustaining "free peoples everywhere."

Not on File

World Bank

WHERE was the World Bank during all the shouting about the Middle East? Officials of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development—which has yet to lend a dollar for reconstruction, development or anything else—had at least one ready answer:

Neither Greece nor Turkey has ever asked the Bank for a loan.

There were, of course, other reasons. The spirit in which the Bank was blueprinted at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944, had not contemplated using its funds for military purposes. Besides, Turkey, which fought on the wrong side in World War I and sat out World War II, had joined the Bank only 21 hours before the President went before Congress. In addition to all this, the Bank, more than a year after it had been formally established at a meeting of member countries in Savannah, Georgia, was still not ready to function.

Plagued by internal dissension and personal squabbles, the multi-billion dollar hope had stood by lamely while economic conditions in Europe and Asia deteriorated steadily, while emergency funds of the US Export-Import Bank ran low and UNRRA operations in the stricken countries ground to a halt. The most important of the Bank's internal fights were waged over banker v. non-banker control and political v. non-political lending. Yet these issues gave the appearance of being settled as early as the Bretton Woods Conference.

President Roosevelt had envisioned the Bank as an impartial, international institution for assisting reconstruction of war-stricken countries without regard to their politics, and for development of economically backward areas of the world. In its articles of agreement, the Bank is pledged not to be "influenced . . . by the political character of the member or members concerned," and to pay regard only to "economic considerations" in making loans.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry A. Morgenthau Jr. warned the Senate Banking Committee June 12, 1945, that if the Bank made loans on a political basis "this could only mean the rule of power politics in international relations."

When the Bank and its companion organization, the International Monetary Fund, were formally established at Savannah, the US delegation successfully opposed a British proposal to locate both institutions in New York. Such a move, said the Americans, would place the Bank and Fund in Wall Street's backyard and increase the danger of excessive banker influence. Thereupon they were located in Washington. Two liberal government economists, Emilio G. Collado and Harry D. White, were named US executive directors for the Bank and Fund, respectively.

But trouble brewed soon after the appointment of Eugene Meyer, Washington publisher, as president of the Bank. Meyer tangled with the board of directors over the scope of his authority. Collado ran into a stone wall when he first tried to gain support of private New York bankers for revisions in state banking and investment laws to expedite sale of World Bank securities. Unless the Bank could market billions of dollars of securities, it could not lend money on the vast scale planned.

Then, US foreign policy complicated the picture. American relations with Russia—which had attended Bretton Woods but stayed out of the Bank—worsened. Russia's satellite, Poland, asked the Bank for $600 million to buy machinery with which to expand production in the rich Silesian coal fields taken over from Germany. It looked like a good risk to such conservative experts as Undersecretary of State Will Clayton. But political considerations intervened. The US and Britain together, by virtue of the size of their contributions, controlled Bank actions. Poland's request was left hanging.

In December, six months after taking office for a five-year term, Meyer resigned. Among other things, he had wanted to make loans strictly on economic, not political, grounds. Weeks stretched into months while the Truman Administration frantically tried to persuade a number of prominent individuals to accept the $30,000 a year, tax-free job.

On the last day of February, the Bank's executive directors appointed John J. McCloy, Wall Street lawyer and former Assistant Secretary of War, as president. He promptly named Robert L. Garner vice-president. Collado was ousted and Eugene R. Black was made US executive director.

This was a victory for the private bankers. At the time of his appointment, Garner was a vice-president of General Foods Corporation, but previously he had served for 14 years as vice-president and treasurer of the Guaranty Trust Company of New York. Black for years was vice-president of

NYET!

CORRESPONDENTS in Moscow received frantic queries from home offices asking for man-in-the-street reaction to President Truman's speech. One reported this experience with a Russian editor at the Hotel Moskva bar. As they were parting, the Russian took the American firmly by the lapel and looking him in the eye declared: "Truman, *NYET!* Abraham Lincoln, *DA!*"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Chase National Bank. Said McCloy:

"I felt that it was desirable to have in the structure of the Bank and of the directorate, well represented, the interests, knowledge and know-how of securities and their market. . . ."

There were signs this week that with the McCloy-Garner-Black team taking over, the Bank was at long last sweeping the cobwebs out of its Washington offices and getting ready to lend some money. Prospect of fast action in amending state banking laws had brightened with McCloy's appointment and the New York Legislature was setting the pace. In addition, the Bank by late spring would have more than $700 million in capital from contributions of member nations. Requests from France, Denmark and Chile were receiving "active consideration." The first batch of loans might be announced within a month or six weeks.

In Bank files were loan requests which would give the US and the world a good idea how the giant institution will operate under McCloy's leadership. Poland still wanted her $600 million. Turkey's neighbor, Iran, wanted $250 million. Requests from Turkey and Greece probably would not be long in arriving now.

"Sufficient Confidence"

Civil Liberties

IN THE aftermath of World War I the US let slip its grasp on wiser judgment. Historians, later, explained away the spy scares, the hunts for Wobblies, the legal excesses in the disguise of justice. Chroniclers of the early twenties called it "national neurosis."

Was history repeating? The aftermath of World War II indicated an affirmative reply. Last week Labor Secretary Lewis Schwellenbach exhibited the nervous symptoms of the times. In an extemporaneous remark before a House committee, Schwellenbach advocated that the US outlaw the Communist Party from its legal rights:

"Why should we recognize the Communist Party in the United States? Why should they be able to elect people to public office, and theoretically, elect members of Congress?"

Almost simultaneously, in Moscow,

Moscow Conference Report

MOSCOW. – President Truman's Manifest Destiny speech and the introduction of the Chinese question have transformed this from a Big Four meeting on Germany and Austria into what might seem like an opportunity for taking the first step toward an over-all peace settlement. The question, however, is whether the US really wants such a settlement, or indeed any settlement at all. The speech's principal impact on the conference is to heighten the suspicion that the US does not, and is merely going through the motions of negotiating here to show that agreement is impossible and that therefore the unilateral Truman doctrine is justified.

From a knowledge of the way minds work in Washington it can be said that the President's speech, coming as *coup de théâtre* at the start of this conference, was somebody's answer to the Wallace speech during the Ministers' Paris meeting, this time designed to show that there can't be any possible doubt about the nature of American foreign policy. Nor is there. Marshall continues to talk about Allied unity but he knew what would happen before he left home.

The Russians have no doubts left either. They see no basis for a general settlement here because in the present circumstance one of the negotiators is talking from behind a pistol. Moreover, as their leading editorials have pointed out, there is a United Nations organization and a Security Council which even now has an investigating commission in Greece. Most interesting of all, Soviet comment brushes aside the surplus wordage in Truman's speech to make the American action a clear case of power politics, but neither *Pravda* nor *Izvestia* seems particularly worried. In fact they apparently rather expected it and perhaps indeed even saw its inevitability. They must have realized that when expansionism came to the US it would be in the guise of anti-expansionism.

At any rate it has been the general feeling from the first in the American delegation that while this conference would be given a try, for the record, actually no agreement is possible with the Russians and, therefore, each must go his own way. This is the Dulles (John Foster Dulles, Republican member of Secretary Marshall's advisory staff in Moscow) premise with respect to Germany, and unless the US meant to support that premise here, there would have been no reason for tearing the Republican adviser away from his political, financial and ecclesiastical duties. Dulles' very presence anticipates failure to agree on Germany, and now Truman's speech has extended that anticipation to all Southeastern Europe.

This view may be shared by the British, but it certainly is not by the French. Despite the treaty of alliance which they signed (at Dunkirk, March 4) before coming here, Bevin and Bidault seem to be talking at cross purposes much of the time at the table. Indeed the French have stood this first week mainly with the Soviet Union, both in the Ministers' Conference and the deputies' meetings, although this may not be the case when the political form of the future German states comes up.

AS FOR the Russians, Molotov has been conciliation itself, accepting the Anglo-American formula for informal Chinese talks with Chinese representatives present and without a communiqué; going along with Bevin on a general survey of all outstanding questions before trying to work out an agreement on any of them; providing information on German war prisoners; and in general showing a disposition to get somewhere.

On the other hand, and this is probably the most important development to date, Molotov has spoken in terms of a politically cohesive Germany with political parties and trade unions permitted to organize and function on a national rather than a zonal basis. The Soviet Union has asked for a uniform electoral system and has also indicated agreement to uniform denazification procedure.

It should be noted that Marshall in his own speech on democratization proposed an effective guarantee of the rights of political parties and trade unions in all parts of Germany, which is considerably different from the Soviet desire to see parties and unions operate on an all-German basis. Similarly, the British refusal to accept proportional representation in the revised uniform electoral system, patently to keep the Communist Party out of governmental organs in the western zones, hardly squares with all the fine Anglo-American words here about democracy. – ALEXANDER KENDRICK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Japanese Occupation

GENERAL Douglas MacArthur, after a year and a half as ruler of Japan, this week concluded that a peace treaty should be signed with Japan quickly, that all occupation troops should thereupon be removed and that the UN should take over for an indefinite period.

Bill Costello, CBS correspondent, reported that MacArthur made a surprise appearance at a newspapermen's luncheon in Tokyo and offered to answer questions, on the record, for 20 minutes. Here are some of the points he made:

¶ The disarming of Japan has been completed. The roots of democracy have been planted. "Only those who believe in totalitarianism will doubt democracy is here to stay," the General said.

¶ Economic reconstruction, the third phase of Japan's recovery, is opening in confusion. "Japan is still blockaded by the Allied powers, the greatest punishment that could be inflicted. The strangulation of Japan must be ended by a peace treaty and the resumption of private trade."

¶ In effect, the Supreme Commander said the occupation has achieved its main purpose, but cannot rebuild Japan's economy. He anticipates his own retirement as soon as machinery to replace him can be devised.

¶ "Japan must be given a chance to earn its own way and the United Nations should be given a chance to prove it can succeed by assuming protective custody of the only nation in the world which has renounced war in its constitution," MacArthur said.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall was outlining the American concept of democracy to the Council of Foreign Ministers. Said Marshall: "Freely constituted political parties should be ensured the right to participate in a free and competitive election system in which each is accorded equal opportunity to present its views, win adherents and obtain just representation." The words were a significant answer to Schwellenbach's question.

For those Americans who feared that the views of the Communist Party (despite its avowal to the contrary) did not fit into the American scheme of law and order, there were laws already on the statute books. The statutes against conspiracy, sedition and treason could be applied to every citizen of the Republic, whatever his party affiliation.

The voice of former Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes echoed wisdom from that other era of national hysteria. In 1919, the New York State Legislature abhorrently ousted representatives who had been elected as Socialists. Hughes then wrote to State Speaker Thaddeus Sweet:

"If public officers or private citizens have any evidence that any individuals are plotting revolution and seeking by violent measures to change our government, let the evidence be laid before the proper authorties and swift action be taken. . . . I have sufficient confidence in our institutions to believe that they will survive the onslaughts of discussion and political controversy. But democracy cannot be preserved if representation is denied. . . . To shut out the duly elected representatives . . . is merely to multiply them by the thousands."

Louder Than Words

South Carolina

LAST September J. Strom Thurmond, a 44-year-old war veteran wounded in Normandy on D-Day with the 82nd Airborne Division, was elected Governor of South Carolina. His campaign speeches made it clear that the former circuit-court judge believes in strict law enforcement.

Already on the books in South Carolina is one of the South's best anti-lynching laws. Lynching is defined as physical violence by three or more persons against anyone in the custody of peace officers, and penalties are provided against officers from whom a prisoner is taken.

On February 17 the first lynching of 1947 took place near Greenville, South Carolina. Willie Earle, a 24-year-old Negro, was in jail suspected of the fatal stabbing of T. W. Brown, a white cab driver. A mob of unmasked white men entered the jail at 5 a.m. and informed jailer Ed Gilstrap at shotgun point that they wanted Earle. "They had shotguns and I danced to their music," said Gilstrap. An hour later Earle's body was found, riddled with shotgun fire.

Governor Thurmond immediately ordered all state resources into action and dispatched a captain of the state police to the scene with full powers to track down the lynchers. Sheriff R. H. Beardon of Greenville said: "We stand for law enforcement and we don't intend to let anybody get away with this sort of thing. I am a great believer in the South and Southern tradition, but I feel that the law ought to be allowed to take care of punishment of crimes."

The jailer said he did not know any of the mob, but remembered that they wore the type of peaked caps used by local cabbies. The FBI, which can enter a lynching case if a law-enforcement officer is involved, helped the local authorities. In a few days 30 men, almost all of them Greenville taxi drivers, were arrested on murder charges and held in $2,500 bail each. They soon identified R. C. Hurd, a taxi dispatcher, as the man who shot Earle and then said: "Give me some more shells, boys."

Last week a general-sessions-court grand jury in Greenville returned a true bill against the 31 men. Hurd was charged with murder on two counts. The others were named as accessories before and after the fact. All 31 were charged with murder and conspiracy to commit murder on two other counts.

This news made it clear that Governor Thurmond was not just talking for the record when he said: "I do not favor lynching and I shall exert every resource to apprehend all persons who may be involved in such a flagrant violation of the law." South Carolina law enforcement has done its part. A jury of South Carolinians would take it from there.

No Takers

Prices

WHOLESALE prices climbed another 1.6 percent last week, shattering a 27-year record. The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that on March 1, wholesale prices were up to 146.4 percent of the 1926 average—or only 12

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

percent below May, 1920, the all-time peak. The BLS recorded that foods were 55 percent more expensive than a year ago.

Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Cal.) carried a basket of groceries onto the floor of the House. She told her colleagues that last June, under the OPA, she had paid $10.08 for the same selection. The cost today: $15.02. "I want to place this food basket where it belongs—squarely in the lap of the Republican Party!" There were no takers.

Unstretchable Point

Press

THE "gentleman's agreement" of the congressional press galleries, which has successfully prohibited Negro reporters from membership, has now fallen under the scrutiny of the Senate Rules Committee.

Louis R. Lautier, a Negro newspaperman, appealed to the committee after he had been refused gallery privileges by the Standing Committee of Correspondents by a vote of four to one. Representing a Negro paper, the Atlanta *Daily World*, Lautier called upon the Rules Committee to take corrective action. He dubbed the correspondents-committee interpretation as "outrageous and designed to bar Negro newspapermen" from the Capitol galleries.

Some 700 Washington newspaper, radio and periodical correspondents of countrywide publications hold neatly engraved cards ("To be shown on demand to the doorkeepers of the Senate and House of Representatives") which entitle them to use the privileges of the press sanctum. The galleries on the top floor of the Capitol have reserved seats overlooking the chambers. Telephones, paper, typewriters and Western Union service are available to all members. On newsless days reporters can relax in leather-cushioned chairs or play a round of poker. Outsiders must have special permission to enter.

Members of the gallery club must be of "reputable standing" and only those whose "chief attention" is given to telegraphic correspondence for daily newspapers and news associations. The latter was the strike which put Lautier out. With the exception of Griffing Bancroft, Chicago *Sun* correspondent and Standing Committee chairman, who favored admitting Lautier, members claimed Lautier's chief duty was correspondent for the Negro Newspaper Publishers' Association, which services 50 weekly papers, rather than the Atlanta *Daily World*.

Technically, the Standing Committee had a point. But if the press boys had searched hard for a precedent to allow Lautier gallery privileges, a swift glance at the list of 700 members would have revealed that the point had been stretched before.

¶ Three reporters for the *Congressional Quarterly* and two for *Editorial Research Reports*—publications which supply newspapers on an intermittent basis—are members.

¶ Any number of correspondents in the daily gallery represent small Southern papers, and mail, rather than wire, the majority of their stories.

¶ Herman A. Lowe, one of the committee who voted to reject Lautier, uses the daily press gallery to write his three columns a week for the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and features for *Variety*, a weekly.

¶ Correspondents for the weekly *United States News* have been admitted as representatives of the United States News Association, although telegraphic distribution of news was no part of their job.

With power to overrule the decision of the gallery officers, the Senate Rules Committee, headed by Senator Wayland C. Brooks (R, Ill.), took up Lautier's complaint this week. Brooks's special consideration of this case is not surprising. He is up for reëlection in 1948 in a state which has a powerful potential voting block of 263,426 Negroes.

Throwback

New York

IN its haste to please Governor Dewey, New York's legislature had come close on occasion to breaking up the china. Republicans stationed state troopers in the path of a delegation to the capital seeking better legislation for low-cost housing, then jammed through their own proposals. Last week Dewey's GOP majority, without benefit of public hearings, uneasily zipped through the punitive Condon-Wadlin bill outlawing strikes by public employees.

Governor Dewey called in his legislative whips to receive some last-minute additions to the bill. The Dewey amendments would automatically fire any striking public employee. If reinstated, he could not be paid more than before he struck, nor could he have a raise for three years. He would remain on probation for a period of five years, with tenure suspended.

The AFL State Federation of Labor called Dewey's proposals "suppressive, vindictive and definitely not in the public interest," and said it marked a reversion "to the reactionary kind of government New York State suffered in 1921 and 1922." Five hundred members of the CIO Transport Workers' and

Not Consulted

IF President Truman had heard of a laboriously prepared UN plan for the reconstruction of Greece, there were scant traces of its conclusion in his recommendation to bolster the Greek government with 250 million US dollars. This week the UN Food and Agricultural Organization released on its own a study which had been available for weeks in Washington.

The 140,000-word document was prepared over a three-month period by 11 technical experts, headed by President Franklin S. Harris of Utah Agricultural College. It specifically recommended cuts in Greek military expenditures as a necessary anti-inflation measure, and estimated that $100 million of World Bank funds would be sufficient, under these conditions, to rebuild Greece's economic life.

With UN help, the FAO thought, the Greeks could develop their water resources for power and irrigation, reorganize agriculture, strengthen education and clean up their civil service. "National unity," the report said, would be necessary before such self-development could succeed. "The mission has been concerned over the tendency, in some cases, to extend the period of military occupation."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Public Workers' Unions went to Albany to protest the measure.

Unruffled, the Dewey leadership went ahead, quickly and without comment. The Senate passed the measure 35-16 on rigid party lines. But when the bill reached the Assembly (where it slipped through 92-54), 15 Republicans found the courage to balk, and voted with the opposition.

Rugged

Illinois

THE winds still rustled through central Illinois cornfields, scuttling around the weed-bordered railroad track that cut across the farmlands for 239 miles. George P. McNear Jr. was the man who had fought ruthlessly to resurrect the dead road on his own terms. Last week, on a dark Peoria street, an assassin cut down George McNear and left the nation's most anguished labor dispute still standing in the weeds.

Back in 1926, the farmers scoffingly called the Toledo, Peoria and Western Railroad the "tip-up and walk-back line." That was the year that 35-year-old McNear, working in a Manhattan investment house, plucked the road from the auction block for $1.3 million. It was also the year that the Railway Labor Act went into effect. A rugged individualist to the last inch of his six foot three, McNear moved to Peoria and right off the bat fought the railway-brotherhood rules which "pay the men for more time than they work."

McNear put an end to a seven-month strike in 1929 by riding a cowcatcher through the picket lines. In 1940, the brotherhoods won a National Labor Relations Board election and strove unsuccessfully from that time forward to obtain from McNear the wages and working conditions of other Class I roads.

With Pearl Harbor, the little line took on new importance. It saved war shipments across the continent one to two precious days by by-passing the Chicago terminal bottleneck and transferring cars to major freight lines at its terminals at Effner, Indiana, and Keokuk, Iowa. US railroad and brotherhood representatives agreed to continue with the same working rules for at least 18 months. But McNear refused to go along: "The mere fact that an employee rides around on a train should not give him the right to fleece the railroads. . . ."

Three weeks after Pearl Harbor, the road suddenly announced that its disputed work proposals would be enforced at midnight. The engineers and trainmen struck. McNear "respectfully declined" the War Labor Board's order for arbitration because the mediation boards were "grossly pro-labor." War traffic on his road was reduced to a trickle. President Roosevelt personally intervened ("I must insist that . . . for the duration of the war . . . the procedures for peaceful settlement of labor disputes . . . must be complied with"). McNear waited three days, then sullenly wired: "I would consider it traitorous . . . to consent." Two days later, the government took over the road, put in a federal manager and hired back the striking workers at a scale similar to that of other railroad employees.

McNear got his road back three and a half years later, in October, 1945. "It is a great relief to know law and order are at last being recognized," he said, and turned a cold shoulder to those erstwhile strikers who had worked for the government. This time the road was completely tied up. Thirteen labor unions walked out. Feelings ran higher than ever in the corn belt. Two pickets were shot and killed in a battle with company guards aboard a locomotive and coal car that McNear had transformed by steel plates into an armored train.

The tracks remained empty. The nationwide railroad tieup came and went in 1946. Nineteen shippers, contending they had "a right . . . to be supplied with efficient transportation," asked the federal ocurt to appoint a receiver for the road. McNear successfully fought the appeal in a higher court and obtained an injunction against any interference in the road's operations. But the road continued strike-bound.

Last month, still carrying on his crusade, he joined other critics of unions before a House Committee on Labor with his usual theme that the Railway Mediation Board suffered from "demonstrated partiality." That was McNear's last official performance. Last week, in Peoria, he left his white frame and concrete house for an evening stroll. A short time later, he was found slumped unconscious at the curb, shotgun slugs in his neck and chest.

Lull

Labor

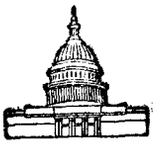
BOTH House and Senate committees, having completed somewhat repetitive hearings on proposed labor laws, are now preparing to draft the bills they will report out for passage. The key to the measure which Congress eventually will adopt is likely to be found, however, in what happens on the Senate floor. The Case bill, vetoed last year by President Truman, was written on the floor over protests of the Labor Committee majority. The Senate is more inclined to vote stringent union restrictions than its committee, an unusually well informed and able group, but is less hostile to unions than the House.

Three provisions seem certain to be passed, since they have been sponsored even by Senators Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) and Irving M. Ives (R, N. Y.), more lenient than most members of the GOP majority. One would merge the US Conciliation Service into a broadened mediation agency outside the Department of Labor. Another would expressly safeguard an employer's right to criticize unions and to appeal to his employees not to join a union, as long as such "free speech" is not connected with intimations of discharge or other economic coercion. The third would allow the National Labor Relations Board to declare jurisdictional strikes or boycotts unfair labor practices when undertaken by a union to challenge another union duly certified by the board.

How much farther legislation will go remains a question. Abolition of the closed shop or industrywide bargaining is a dead duck. But a strong fight is certain to be made by anti-labor groups to compel a waiting period before strikes, limit the checkoff of union dues and perhaps permit the government to seek injunctions against strikes which would "cripple" a community or the nation. An omnibus bill containing such provisions presumably would run into a presidential veto.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire



Turning Point in History

WE LOOKED DOWN on the joint session of Congress from our perch in the press gallery right over President Truman's head the other day at his momentous aid-to-Greece speech. There were 50 seconds of applause as President Truman came smiling up the center aisle; then, for 18 minutes, that big audience sat awed and silent. There were three brief attempts at applause, but they flickered out like somebody trying to light a log with a match. For example, we watched Gene Cox of Georgia clap vigorously at one point. Four or five others near him joined in, but it didn't catch; it died out. Personally, we liked the mood, too. This wasn't an emotional crowd being swept off its feet by eloquence or chauvinism. There was no partisanship in the Chamber. The original welcome to Truman and the subsequent awed quiet were evenly distributed over the hall. No, if this is to be a turning point in history, as it may well be, we should prefer it to be taken in a somber, reluctant silence than in a whooped-up mood of hysterical emotionalism.

IT SEEMS that those Old Meanies, the "far-Left propagandists," have been attacking the Republicans again. Several good, sound columnists led by Frank Kent, David Lawrence and others, have been denouncing the attack. It takes this reminiscent column right back to the trials of poor, dear Mr. Hoover, back in those evil days when the Great Engineer was trying to handle the post-1929 mess that Silent Cal had dumped in his lap with the aid of the Greatest Secretary of the Treasury since Alexander Hamilton—the days when the same destructive, radical critics came on the scene. Oh, the pity of it! All right-thinking Americans recoiled at the slurs and the "smear campaign" of that dreadful Charlie Michelson, aided and abetted by That Man. And to think that it could all be happening again now! And it is. Yes, "what amounts to a smear campaign" is being directed at Senator Taft and his Republican buddies. It is even being maintained that, so far, they haven't carried out their election promises, and the canard is being circulated that there is division among their ranks. We shudder at such impropriety. Yes, yes, let us raise the hem of our petticoats and utter—all together now—a distinct and maidenly "Tut, tut!"

OUR mind keeps going back to the dramatic interrogation of John L. Lewis by the Senate Labor Committee, which we neglected to chronicle at the time. It was right after the Supreme Court decision, and there was the biggest crowd we ever saw in the marbled Caucus Room, with messengers running, klieg lights going and cameras whirring. This was to be the scene of Society's Triumph over Lewis. Well, Old Eyebrows is no hero of ours; but, folks, we have to hand it to him. From first to last he dominated the room. In quiet, even tones, he began by praising private enterprise, individual initiative, the American Way, and doing it with such verve and illustrative material that he shortly had GOP Senators looking at each other with a wild surmise and a little later eating out of his hand.

When it was time for questioning, the Senators held back, then tentatively, one after another, put a loaded question. In his rumbling, organ voice, Lewis carelessly turned the edge of each question. It was really magnificent. The kid-glove audience began to titter and then to applaud. But it was applause for the bull, not the matadors. Yes, it was like a bull fight, but a queer one, at the end of which the matadors were over the rail and the bull, which had stalked magnificently in, stalked magnificently out again, giving a huge wink from under one bushy eyebrow as it departed.

THERE probably never was a time when an old-fashioned muckraking journalist could uncover more to write about in Washington which the press associations normally ignore, than right now. The veterans' housing program has been destroyed and so has the OPA, with prices bounding up to an all-time high. In the perennial tussle between corporations and their employees, the former's profits are at a record-breaking high—which it isn't polite to mention—while workers are being backed into a corner with steadily diminishing take-home pay and restrictive legislation against them is being joyfully prepared. Under the guise of ending portal-pay suits, the Gwynne bill would actually cut the heart out of the wage-hour law. At a time of growing monopoly the revived Reed-Bulwinkle bill would exempt railroads from the anti-trust laws. A Treasury surplus is by no means certain, but Representative Knutson—the GOP millstone—is ready with a 20-percent income-tax cut for House passage in the week of March 24, which should be called "Be Kind to Millionaires" week.

We ran into an amusing contradiction ourselves the other day. In the frantic "economy drive" the House voted to cut $30 million from the Bureau of Internal Revenue. This reduces tax-enforcement police work, which normally returns $20 for each $1 expended. This particular "economy"—unless the Senate restores the money—will mean a probable loss of tax revenue of something like half a billion dollars.

We could go on—but it is too nice a spring day. It is fair to add, however, that the GOP, which couldn't beat Roosevelt alive, has defeated him dead, in its proposed two-term constitutional-amendment limit. If passed, this will prove that the mass of American voters were wrong in electing FDR in 1940 and 1944.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Henry Wallace

The Fight for Peace Begins

MARCH 12, 1947, marked a turning point in American history. On that day President Truman confronted the world with a crisis, not of the Greek economy, but of the American spirit. That which I feared when I wrote President Truman last July has come upon us. Only the American people, fully aroused and promptly acting, can prevent disaster.

In the name of democracy and humanitarianism, President Truman proposes a military lend-lease program. He proposes a loan of $400 million to Greece and Turkey as a down payment on an unlimited expenditure aimed at opposing Communist expansion. He proposes in effect that America police Russia's every border. There is no regime too reactionary for us, provided it stands in Russia's path.

In three weeks' time Congress is asked to make one of the most radical changes ever proposed in American foreign policy. Congress is asked to make this change with insufficient evidence, with few facts, with no knowledge of where this program will end. President Truman justifies this extraordinary procedure in the name of a crisis. It is as if tomorrow the heavy-booted soldiers of the Soviet Union will be heard tramping through the streets of Athens. What is this crisis that necessitates the President going to Capitol Hill as if the Soviet army were on the march or as if another Pearl Harbor were upon us?

There is a world crisis. It is not a war crisis; the Soviet Union has made no warlike moves. The real world crisis is the crisis of millions of people left homeless, hungry, disease-ridden, orphaned and ravaged by years of fighting. Of course this crisis demands action. The peoples of Italy, Poland, Yugoslavia, France, Greece, Hungary, China and other lands urgently need American food and supplies. The peoples of Russia suffered greater losses and contributed more to the defeat of Germany than those of any other nation. They need American supplies for reconstruction.

If aid to peoples devastated by war is our objective, why did the President and Congress allow UNRRA to die? Why are we doing so little to help the million displaced and homeless persons in Europe? Why are we seeking for only $400 million when the need is far greater? Why is $150 million of those $400 million to be given to Turkey, which was no ally of ours and is in no urgent need of food and supplies?

The program proposed by President Truman bears almost no relation to the real crisis of today and no relation to the real needs of the peoples of the world. It is a program for the purchase of mercenaries and the widening of the conflict against the Soviet Union.

One-half of the loan of $250 million to Greece is to be used, according to government sources, to provide guns, signal equipment, army trucks and the services of American Army officers—all for the present Greek army. Very little of the remainder will serve the immediate needs of the Greek people. Food and supplies are to be handled through the final UNRRA appropriations, for which I see little enthusiasm in Washington.

The $150 million loan to Turkey bears no relation to democracy or the economic needs of the Turkish people. There is no Communist problem in Turkey and Turkey is not in need of relief. The Turkish government is not democratic and we have no intention of promoting democracy in Turkey. The Turkish transportation system is in need of repair for primarily military reasons. The American Army wants to make Turkey less dependent on foreign supplies to increase her ability to fight by herself in time of war, until American troops and supplies can relieve her.

IT IS utter nonsense to suggest that the Greek people today are a free people. The present government has persecuted the people of Greece while it squandered their resources. It has drawn off relief supplies in graft. It has refused to establish price control or rationing, despite repeated recommendations of UNRRA and the British government. It permitted more than $50 million in cash to be exported to America by wealthy Greeks since the German occupation. It has refused to impose an income tax or any other aspect of a sound tax structure. It has purged the universities of liberal and independent thought. It helps to maintain an army of 120,000 soldiers to fight 9,000 Greek guerrillas. One month ago General Marshall proposed drastic reforms in the Greek government as the conditions of an American loan. Today there is no assurance that these drastic reforms will be demanded as a prerequisite to the loan.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Like all Americans I want to see freedom enjoyed by all peoples everywhere. This program is a program for the destruction, not the extension, of freedom. Once American loans are given to the undemocratic governments of Greece and Turkey, every reactionary government and every strutting dictator will be able to hoist the anti-Communist skull and bones, and demand that the American people rush to his aid. Today we are asked to support Greece and Turkey. Tomorrow Peron and Chiang Kai-shek may take their turn at the head of the line. American dollars will be the first demand, then American Army officers and technicians, then American GI's.

I say that this policy is utterly futile. No people can be bought. America cannot afford to spend billions and billions of dollars for unproductive purposes. The world is hungry and insecure, and the peoples of all lands demand change. American loans for military purposes won't stop them. Once America stands for opposition to change, she will become the most hated nation in the world.

RUSSIA may be poor and unprepared for war, but she knows very well how to reply to Truman's declaration of economic and financial pressure. All over the world Russia and her ally, poverty, will increase the pressure against us. Who among us is ready to predict that in this struggle American dollars will outlast the grievances that lead to communism? I certainly don't want to see communism spread. I predict that Truman's policy will spread communism in Europe and Asia. You can't fight something with nothing.

Coming two days after the opening of the Moscow Conference, President Truman's speech has undermined General Marshall's assignment of coöperating with Great Britain, France and Russia in writing the peace. The United Nations, our great hope for peace, rests on the continued coöperation of these nations and will be gravely weakened if America follows the course that Truman recommends. A United Nations commission is now in Greece investigating the threat to Greek security. If Greece is in danger, let the United Nations tell us the facts and recommend action.

When President Truman proclaims the worldwide conflict between East and West, he is telling the Soviet leaders that we are preparing for eventual war. They will reply by measures to strengthen their position in the event of war. Then the task of keeping the world at peace will pass beyond the power of the common people everywhere who want peace. As our obligations around the world increase, Americans must give up hope of reduced national debt, of any relief from the burden of taxation. Pressure will increase for restoring conscription, for universal military training. Civil liberties will be restricted; standards of living will be forced downward; families will be divided against each other; none of the values we hold worth fighting for will be secure.

I stood strongly for American loans to Greece and other nations for economic reconstruction when those loans were advanced in the name of the welfare of humanity. I cannot support measures advanced in the spirit of warfare against Russia. Perhaps the President felt that he could get his loans more easily by whipping up anti-Communist hysteria. Perhaps he really sees himself as the leader of a new ideological imperialism. In any event, the framework for these loans has been set. Support of the loan means support for Truman's new crusade. Even a vote to restrict the loans to economic purposes will be taken by Truman as repudiation of his new policy. For this reason, as one American citizen I say: *No loan to undemocratic and well fed Turkey; no loan to Greece until a representative Greek government is formed and can assure America that our funds will be used for the welfare of the Greek people.*

No one wants war. If war comes one day, it will be because we have failed to think on the scale required for peace. Roosevelt thought on that scale. He foresaw generations of peace and plenty. Two years later President Truman asks us to look forward to generations of want and war. President Truman has summoned in a century of fear. I say this can be the century of the fulfilment of the American dream.

THIS is the time for an all-out worldwide reconstruction program for peace. This is America's opportunity. The peoples of all lands say to America: Send us plows for our fields instead of tanks and guns to be used against us. The United Nations is waiting, ready to do the job. We should start with an economic plan for the Near East financed by the International Bank and backed by the United Nations. The dollars that are spent will be spent for the production of goods and will come back to us in a thousand different ways. Our program will be based on service instead of the outworn ideas of imperialism and power politics. It is a fundamental law of life that a strong idea is merely strengthened by persecution. The way to handle communism is by what William James called "the replacing power of the higher affection." In other words, we must give the common man all over the world something better than communism. I believe we have something better than communism here in America. But President Truman has not spoken for the American ideal. It is now the turn of the American people to speak. Peace-minded people must act. Every church should organize. Every woman's club should pass resolutions. Every citizen should write to Congress. There is opportunity for great good as well as great evil in this hour. H. W.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Realism in the Middle East

Policy and Power Flow in Arab Oil Reserves

HIGH-SOUNDING public pronouncements over national integrities and individual freedoms in the Middle East last week all failed to mention the single, simple word—oil.

"The center of gravity of world oil production is shifting from the Gulf-Caribbean area to the Middle East—to the Persian Gulf area." So ran a 1944 report by the US Interior Department.

Had the cautious Department of the Interior wished to indulge in political prophecy, it could have safely enlarged its 1944 prediction to include a shift of gravity even greater than mere oil production. Power follows oil. The world's greatest known oil reserves are in the Middle East—Iraq, Iran and Saudi Arabia. The Truman Administration's suddenly expressed anxiety over the status quo in the Middle East is, perhaps, not wholly inexplicable.

In the past decade American oil companies' investments for the purchase of concessions, development of new fields and construction of refineries have increased so rapidly that US concerns emerged from World War II as dominant in the intricate international financing of Middle Eastern oil. To understand what has happened, Iran, roughly speaking, should be considered British oil territory under control of the potent, government-controlled Anglo-Iranian Company. Iraq is exploited jointly by American and Anglo-Iranian interests. Saudi Arabia, richest of all in oil potential, is an entirely American show, and therefore the crux of US interests in the Middle East. Turkey is the fulcrum between these interests and Russian power to the east.

From canny, half-blind King Ibn Saud the Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco) has obtained oil rights to 440,000 square miles of his sun-scorched country, land which is conservatively estimated to hold reserves of 20 billion barrels of oil, equal to the total known reserves of the US, and probably much more. Aramco, owned by Standard Oil of California and the Texas Company, already has invested $200 million developing its huge Dhahran field near the Persian Gulf and plans to more than double the investment soon. Already Dhahran, a modernly equipped installation manned by American technicians, is pouring out 200,000 barrels a day, which means that Ibn Saud, who gets a royalty of 22 cents per barrel, is richer by $44,000 daily. The King, needless to say, is delighted with the way things have turned out since he allowed infidels to prospect his barren wastes along the Gulf.

In fact, so happy is the King that now he is even considering letting the oil companies build a railroad in his kingdom, something that neither he nor any other Arab ruler ever would consider in the past for fear that railroads would bring with them men and ideas disruptive to a feudal state. If he decides favorably, the rail lines will run from Ibn Saud's antique capital, Riad, to the Aramco capital, Dhahran. But that is only one of the changes in store for Saudi Arabia. Aramco last month let contracts for construction of a $100 million Trans-Arabian pipeline to the Mediterranean. That would solve numerous present transportation and refinery difficulties. One thousand miles long and 30 inches in diameter, the pipeline will mean that Saudi Arabia will never be the same because its construction will bring countless technicians and experts into the desert and with them will come highways, electrification, hospitals and a new kind of life.

But even without the pipeline Saudi Arabia never could hope to recapture the uncomplex, nomadic happiness of the T. E. Lawrence days, because Arabia, unfortunately for her archaic peace, has become the largest single producer of oil for the US Navy. Naval tankers daily plow the Indian Ocean up into the Persian Gulf, take on cargo at the Aramco docks at Damman, then head back again toward the Far East and the Pacific. The oil of Arabia—pumped behind the protection of the Dardanelles—powers the US Fleet in the far corners of the world.

Turkey's Military Loan Reaps a Strange Harvest

OF ALL the strange bedfellows of postwar politics none could be more ill matched than Greece and Turkey. By so mating them President Truman obscured the nature of the US loan to undeserving Turkey behind the proposed loan to Greece, whose economic needs are tragically obvious. Consider the wide differences between the two nations:

1. Greeks are starving; Turks are well fed.

2. Greece was ravaged by Nazi conquest and occupation to such a degree that her always frail economic structure collapsed. Turkey, neutral until almost the end of the war, made handsome profits from both sides.

3. Greece has no exports, negligible industry and a poverty-stricken agriculture. Turkey has rich deposits of chrome ore, enough food to export, growing industry and a $200 million gold reserve.

4. Greece fought heroically against Germany for freedom and liberty. Turkey maintained a large army on her frontiers, thereby immobilizing large numbers of Allied divisions in the Middle East for fear Turkey would join the Axis.

5. Greece now is wracked by bitter internal quarrels, the protagonists including a powerful Communist minority who, as long as they are without representation in the government, are a grave threat to continuance of any Athens regime. Turkey's political situation is relatively placid with most of its Communists and Communist sympathizers languishing in jail. What little political opposition there is to President

(Continued on page 16)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Where US Interests Are Moving into the Graveyard of Empires

In the Middle East, empire has succeeded empire since the beginning of recorded time—Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian. The receiver of the Ottoman was the British Empire. Now the British Empire is in receivership. Everywhere the British are drawing in their lines and bowing to American commercial interests, particularly oil, in areas of Iraq, Iran and Arabia. The inheritor of the imperial mantle, if the Truman Doctrine is put into effect, will be the US. American interests already are paramount in Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Bahrein. American airfields dot the Middle East. American warships outnumber British in the Mediterranean. Staking an outpost in Turkey would seal the deal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 14)

Inonu and militarist Premier Recep Peker centers around Djelal Bayar, a banker whose faith in free enterprise would scarcely put him in the ranks of those friendly to Soviet influence.

In Ankara, the Turkish capital, the peasants are barred by law from walking on the pavements of the neat, pink-stoned city their taxes built for the quality folk. The party which wrote this singular ordinance calls itself the "People's Party," and has ruled dictatorially for 25 years. The first even partially honest elections in modern Turkish history were held only last year. The Opposition took 62 seats out of 465 in the National Assembly. The government promptly canceled a temporary latitude toward the press, tightened martial law and continued to exclude Greek, Armenian and Jewish minorities from all army and political life.

The differences between Greece and Turkey are so great that only the most naïve would assume that simultaneous loans to the two nations would be used for anything like identical purposes. The loan to Greece, with suitable restrictions, might save men, women and children from starvation and, if intelligently applied, might help rebuild the nation's economic structure. The loan to Turkey almost certainly would be used, as the President and his military advisers intend, to build up Turkey's military machine.

ALTHOUGH stringent security regulations mask its exact size and power, American observers estimate the Turkish Army at about 700,000 men. Never having been tried in combat, its prowess cannot be measured, and in modern machine warfare that is somewhat beside the point. What is to the point, however, is what the maintenance of that army means to Turkey. Since 75 percent of Turkey's population is agricultural, the army necessarily is made up chiefly of farmers who as soldiers consume food instead of producing it. If Turkey's army were not kept in a constant state of mobilization, which has grown even tauter since the war, these soldier-farmers would be put back on the soil where their work would help solve world-food problems by producing wheat, olive oil, fruits and other commodities. As things stand now, grain is allowed to rot in Turkish fields because of lack of manpower to harvest it.

Though Turkey's fundamental economic position is a good one, the upkeep of a war-strength army is a terrific strain on the nation. In fact, a total of 65 percent of the entire budget goes for army and police purposes. A foreign loan aimed, as Washington has indicated, at modernizing that army further and refurbishing the nation's transport system, will do nothing to alleviate the Turkish people's difficulties in paying for their army.

True, Truman didn't say it would. But he coupled Turkey so closely with Greece that the casual listener easily would juxtapose the two—food for Greece, food for Turkey. Easy. Congressmen may not be that casual. Certainly no Turk is, because every Turk is conscious of what is his nation's greatest treasure—the Straits.

THE Straits are one of the most strategic waterways of the world, including the narrow Bosphorus from the Black Sea into the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles from the Sea of Marmara into the Mediterranean. Whoever could stand astride this waterway could exact rich tribute from its commerce.

In the eighteenth century a new power, Russia, began to cast covetous eyes on the Straits, which would provide a warm-water outlet to the south. Neither Catherine the Great, nor any other Russian ruler who followed her, was able to realize this shimmering dream, but they never gave up trying.

After World War I, negotiations finally resulted in the internationalization of the Straits under the Montreux Convention which gave Turkey the right and duty of defending her most precious possession, allowed free passage of international commerce and forbade passage of any warships in time of war. By the end of World War II both the US and Britain had agreed with Russia that the Montreux Convention was so imperfect that it should be revised. Probably warships should be allowed passage, certainly if the United Nations had declared an emergency.

That, unfortunately, was not enough for a Russia suspicious of Anglo-American motives and still historically hungry for power in the Mediterranean world. Russia therefore proposed to Turkey that the Straits should be ruled by a new grouping, euphemistically termed "Black Sea Powers"—meaning Turkey, Russia and two Russian satellites, Bulgaria and Rumania. The Western powers would be frozen out. In addition, Russia asked to "share" in policing of the Straits. Bases for such policing, it was plain to see, would mean that Soviet Russia had won where Catherine the Great failed. Both the US and Britain joined Turkey in protesting such unilateral action and such bypassing of the United Nations.

Since September, when Russia reiterated her proposals but agreed to an international conference after direct negotiations between Turkey and Russia, nothing more had been heard from Russia. But the proposals have not been forgotten, particularly in the State Department, where there is no dearth of proponents for a new *cordon sanitaire* around Russia. The Russian proposals gave fuel to the departmental fires being fanned by Loy Henderson for a sweeping program of political loans aimed at building an anti-Russian wall in the Middle East. Such loans, according to his plan, would be made without regard to need, prospect of repayment or other normal criteria. They would be purely political and any nation, regardless of political odor, would be eligible provided no Communists were in positions of power.

THE plan kicked around the State Department for some time. Suddenly it emerged, with the blessings of State, War and Navy, with the acquiescence of the British Foreign Office and clothed in the graceless words of Harry Truman. Why it had been timed thus—to torpedo the Moscow Conference? because of pressure from oil companies? because of some yet unannounced Russian counter-move?—remains unclear. What is clear, however, is that Turkey, one of the oldest police states in the world, where freedom and democracy are almost foreign words, was being cast in the unfamiliar role of defender of the democratic faith.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One out of Three Breaks Up

by William K. Reed Jr.

Conceived in haste and plagued by a housing shortage, GI marriages are flooding the divorce courts

NO ONE has the exact figures, but some experts believe that one out of every three wartime marriages entered into by American servicemen have already ended in divorce. Others predict that one million—or two out of three—of these wartime unions will be dissolved by 1950. These estimates, reminiscent of the statistics recorded after the First World War, again prove that veterans' marital difficulties play an inevitable role in the aftermath of war.

A survey of judges, social workers and psychologists indicates that three basic factors, with infinite variations, are at fault. These are (1) hasty marriages on short acquaintance between individuals of different environments; (2) war-enforced separations soon after the weddings; and (3) disillusionment in the postwar period caused by housing shortages, employment problems, etc.

Blame is placed most frequently on the first of these—perhaps because hasty marriages seem to reflect, more than anything else, the insecurity of the average GI's life. At best, military service catapulted a man from a normal, happy environment into an existence where none of the usual symbols of security were important. Homes, families, bank accounts were physically far away, and their morale-building value was correspondingly diminished. The GI needed something on the spot to replace these symbols, and naturally focused his attention on some woman. It was natural, too, that since he sometimes lived for weeks without catching a glimpse of a woman, his discrimination dulled.

These tendencies were magnified for teen-age inductees. Still boys, they were expected to do men's jobs, to take equal places in the men's world for which they were not emotionally prepared. Marriage for them was proof that they had grown up. Additional factors were at work for psychologically immature adults who sought wives as substitutes for mothers and sisters.

Why did so many women choose overnight to become war brides? Some of them were affected with a sort of adolescent patriotism. "Their part" in the war effort, they reasoned, was to make our fighting men happy. Others feared that if they did not marry during the war, they would end up as old maids. Still others were frankly on the hunt for allotments and insurance.

An urge to conform to a pattern laid out by society was also present. Movies, magazine articles, radio shows and popular songs encouraged romantic notions about love at first sight, courtship on a two-day pass, a wedding on the eve of the soldier's departure and other histrionic clichés. The government also did its share to bolster the whole process. The well meaning dependency-allotment plan eliminated a familiar peacetime obstacle to hasty wedlock by shouldering a sizable portion of a GI's financial obligation to his wife.

It is not surprising, then, that during the war neither servicemen nor their sweethearts considered the basic differences in personalities and background that are now causing trouble. These differences became particularly apparent if the couples were forced by the housing shortage to live with in-laws who were often unduly critical of the new member of the home.

A typical case in point is that of Clarence Russek, the younger son of a middle-class family in Chicago. Both Clarence and his older brother, Peter, served with the Air Forces in England, where early in the war Clarence was cited for his skill as an aerial gunner. He got his first real shock as he watched at the deathbed of Peter, who had been mortally wounded in a mission over Germany. Also at the scene was Margaret McCauley, his brother's Scottish sweetheart, who was present when Clarence promised Peter never to fly again.

When Clarence returned to his base, he received another blow. A court martial followed his refusal to fly, and although it ended in a minor sentence, he was bitterly resentful for many weeks. It was during this period that he married Margaret.

Basic differences

THE war ended soon after; Clarence was discharged and Margaret followed him to Chicago, where they moved in with Russek's family. Clashes developed almost immediately. To his mother, Clarence was still "the baby," besides being her only surviving son. To Margaret, he was a full-grown man—her husband. Margaret was from Glasgow, a city girl unused to small town whimsicalities. But despite the urban area in which her husband's parents lived, the atmosphere was provincial. Neighbors gossiped as they do in Oswego. Other Russeks and their families had apartments within the block.

In addition to this, Margaret was an outsider, a foreigner. She liked tea at five and didn't use make-up. Russek's mother thought tea snobbish; the lack of lipstick, dowdy. Margaret was equally

William K. Reed Jr., who was a combat correspondent and an overseas editor of Yank *during the war, is now a writer for* Editor and Publisher. *For obvious reasons, names, places and other identifying facts have been omitted or changed in the cases cited in his article.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dismayed at the smoking habits of the feminine Russeks.

On his side, Clarence, while strongly attached to his mother, tried hard to reduce the friction. His futile attempt to bring his wife and mother together resulted in mental frustration, stomach trouble and nausea. The marriage was nearly ruined when the young couple found an apartment, which, temporarily at least, eased the problem.

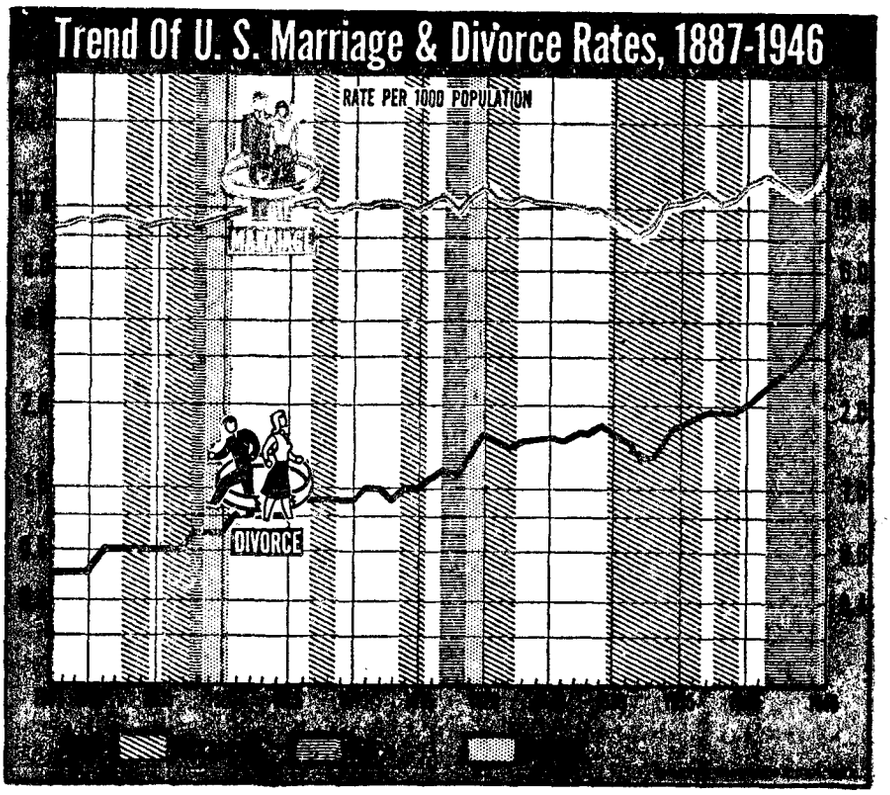
Although the marriage of Clarence and Margaret is an example of what some social workers might classify as a "mesalliance overseas," this situation is quite similar to that of Tom Watkins and Lena Pisoni, both native-born Americans but of different backgrounds.

Tom came from a middle-class family in Cleveland and had a talent for arranging and composing music. Lena was the daughter of an Italian immigrant family in New York. They met at a skating rink, made love in a park and were married three months before Tom went overseas. When he returned, they lived with Lena's parents. Tom got a job arranging music for a dance band and, although his salary was good, the Pisonis objected. Manual laborers themselves, they thought Tom's work effeminate. At a result, he was the target of ridicule from the whole family. He endured it for two months until one night Lena's sister tore up several of his compositions. Then he became ill and lost his job. Mental distraction finally drove him to a psychiatrist's office.

Enforced separation

Less wise men have chosen a courthouse, and many wartime matches hastily contracted between individuals of different environments have already ended there. Marriages built more solidly in this respect, however, sometimes topple under the impact of war-enforced separations, the second major cause of our veterans' divorces.

Some psychologists believe that it takes two or three years of intimate association after the marriage ceremony before newlyweds actually know each other as husbands and wives. The war interrupted the post-wedlock "getting acquainted" period. Couples were parted who had been married long enough to have their first wrangles, but not long



enough to form a strong bond of companionship. While separated, they lived in different surroundings, under different tempos; they developed new interests and changed their personalities. In some instances, the wife stayed with her parents and remained the dependent younger member of the family. In others, she found complete independence in an outside job. In either case, she was reluctant to assume domestic responsibilities at the time her husband returned. If there was a child, the situation was more complicated, for the husband had not had the opportunity to adjust himself gradually to the baby's claim on his wife's attention.

Sometimes the separation, combined with personal insecurity, prompted unfounded suspicions of unfaithfulness; or, if there really had been adultery on the part of either spouse, the act was frequently exaggerated in his own mind beyond reasonable importance. It had varying effects. The unfaithful one commonly returned with such feelings of guilt that he became sexually impotent. Just as often, however, the "other" woman or man replaced the legal partner as the primary love. This happened, regardless of the length of the courtship, if the post-wedlock getting-acquainted period was cut short.

Kay and Harvey Mitchell, for example, had come from respectable, well-to-do New England families and had known each other since childhood. They had honeymooned happily for the two months of their marriage that Harvey remained in the United States. And for a long while after he was shipped to Hawaii his daily letters were warm with affection. But when he returned three years later, he asked for his freedom. A pregnant island girl was waiting to marry him.

In this instance, adultery severed the wedding bonds permanently, but in the case of longer established matches psychologists are inclined to support the Archbishop of York, who said, "Often adultery is committed under circumstances of great strain and temptation, with the person committing the sin never really losing love for wife or husband."

Mrs. Carol Bennett would agree. A rash but highly realistic woman, she succeeded in saving her marriage from the unlucky results of her own indiscretion. The Bennetts had been married a decade before Carol's husband was shipped to London during the first year of the war. As the months dragged on, Carol became lonely, then careless, then pregnant. But ten years of wedlock had

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forged a pleasant union she had no desire to break, so when the child was born she arranged an adoption. Their marriage has been resumed with no apparent ill effects.

Heroes—unemployed

As some of the foregoing stories show, veterans' postwar problems frequently aggravate more basic causes of marital disturbances. But housing shortages, in-law trouble, job-hunting and all the other obstacles GI's meet upon returning to civilian life can be, in themselves, formidable blows to an otherwise secure marriage relationship. One of the most common readjustment hardships comes from what may be described as the "fall of heroism." Before V-J Day, every serviceman was an object of acclaim to the home-town folks, his family, his wife or sweetheart. Among them he enjoyed wartime prestige that he could not possibly have carried with him when he changed to mufti. Then, too, the salaries of many officers and high-ranking non-coms were far greater than they could earn as civilians. To quote a GI expression, they "never had it so good."

Peace stripped them of their medals and paychecks, sent them into job markets where employers were kind and genial and listened to their stories—and asked their experience. It was a question few could answer satisfactorily. Experience, at best, was a university degree with a few months thrown in as a counselor at a boys' camp, a waiter in the college cafeteria, a salesman of brushes or magazines.

It wasn't the kind of experience the employer wanted; unless, of course, the ex-gunboat commander or the ex-fighter pilot would like to take a job as an office boy and work up.

Many did, and their marriages suffered. The veterans themselves found the adjustment painful and, too often, their wives were not sympathetic. They had fallen in love with a hero; an office boy was quite another matter.

It was precisely this sort of problem that broke up the Henry Locklins. Henry had gone to a Navy officers' college straight from a small Midwestern school of journalism. He volunteered for submarine duty and rose to the position of executive officer of his craft on the first cruise. While on leave in San Diego he met Alice Grant, the daughter of a wealthy Los Angeles banker. A year and a half later when his submarine returned to San Diego for repairs, Henry and Alice were married. After the war they moved into the suburban house they had received as a wedding gift, and Henry started to look for a job. Los Angeles newspapers were not hiring. It was a big problem, the editors said, to find work for their own returning veterans and to absorb the wartime replacements. New men didn't have a chance, especially men with no experience in newspaper work. Locklin finally accepted a job as an office boy in an advertising agency.

His pride hurt, Henry grew despondent and bitter. Alice was in no position to encourage him. Her pride was hurt, too. It is hard to explain to Los Angeles society about a husband who sharpens pencils for a living. She could not afford expensive clothes, and Henry refused to accept money from her father. On the night Henry also refused a vice-presidency in Grant's bank, Alice packed her bags for Reno.

"No case is hopeless"

Fortunately, experts agree that the hundreds of veterans' marriages now speeding toward divorce courts need not end there if proper help is given in time. Every large city and many smaller ones have social agencies prepared to deal with these problems. In New York, the Municipal Department of Welfare, the Red Cross and such private groups as Catholic Charities, Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., and the Jewish Family Service are providing the necessary social and psychological aid for estranged couples, veteran and non-veteran alike.

Ex-servicemen whose marital difficulties stem from psychological ills created by the war may appeal to mental hygiene clinics of the Veterans' Administration. I like the basic premises of Dr. Charles Brown, chief of the mental-hygiene clinic of the VA's New York Regional Office.

"We start working with the idea that no case is hopeless," this weather-beaten fighter pilot of World War I explained. "Our high percentage of success with couples who have shown any interest at all in making a go of it proves our philosophy is pretty nearly right."

Dr. Brown and his associates have not only aided couples whose problems were caused by the war, but also those whose primary psychological deficiencies were aggravated by war pressures.

Fred Cowley, for example, had done everything he believed possible to shield himself against unexpected hazards. He had lived all of his 32 years at home, where he was worshiped by his mother. His civil-service job had ensured him against the more common economic calamities. It gave him regular work, disability benefits, an old-age pension.

The war snatched him from this placid life, pushed him into the Army, threatened him with combat. Shortly before going overseas, he married a woman six years his senior. In Europe, Cowley experienced increasing anxiety about the match. When he returned, he believed himself impotent, felt guilty about the marriage when he found it had made his mother ill.

No one would have bet on the outcome when Cowley and his wife first appeared at the VA clinic. Several careful treatments, however, have already improved their relationship, and there is a good chance of a complete adjustment.

Sympathetic mediation

But Cowley and those like him who have voluntarily requested aid from the VA and other agencies, are probably in the minority. The social stigma that is still attached to those who confess personal and psychological maladjustments is too great for many to risk. An organization is needed to act as an intermediary so that estranged couples may be persuaded to seek help before it is too late.

A tentative step in this direction is being made by the probation officers of the Domestic Relations Court of New York. When complaints of non-support are presented, these officials talk to both parties and try to induce them to accept the assistance of an agency to effect a reconciliation. At least 50 percent of the cases are settled in this way before they reach a formal trial.

Some of the others are adjusted by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

friendly judges, applying homemade psychology. That's what brought Jim and Mary Freeman together again. Anyone except Jim or Mary could see the foolishness of their quarrel. They were deeply in love before Jim went overseas and got ideas about Mary's new fur coat. She had needed it badly and borrowed money from her father to buy it. Jim wrote and accused her of having received the coat in exchange for intimacies with her employer. At Mary's request the Red Cross sent a cable refuting his charges, but Jim's letters continued to be abusive. When he was discharged he paid her but one visit, and that was to tell her he was leaving her for good.

The case came before the Domestic Relations Court when Mary filed for non-support. Probation officers tried vainly to persuade them to go to a welfare agency, but both were too angry to agree. Finally relegated to a courtroom, their plight seemed hopeless, until a stern judge solemnly promised Jim a prison sentence if he refused to send his wife the money she needed. At the thought of this, Mary broke into tears, and Jim took her in his arms to comfort her. They left, hand in hand.

Marriage is a full-time job

WHAT of the couples who postponed their weddings until after the war? Their chances for happiness are even fewer than those who were married before V-J Day, if the trends that emerged from World War I and its aftermath are any indication. Figures show that while marriages contracted during World War II had a very high divorce rate, those of 1919 had an even higher one.

Some experts, however, are hopeful that the marriages of the present era will have more durability. The atomic bomb, international clashes and domestic problems have thrown sober shadows over the postwar wedding parties this time. Brides and grooms are a little more serious than those of the Jazz Age. In an unstable world, present-day newlyweds are finding security in each other. For them, the experts have a word of advice: marriage may offer security, all right, but like every other security, it takes *time* to pay off.

"Call Me Jake"

by Arthur Hepner

Chicago's Jake Arvey is a new kind of political boss. He reads books and talks like a New Dealer

AFTER April 1 the name of Edward J. Kelly will disappear from prominence in Chicago politics. "Big Ed," the rough-and-tumble product of an Irish background and the Democratic city machine, will retire to his farm at Eagle River, Wisconsin, after 14 years as mayor and a considerable time as Cook County's political boss. He is past 70 and tired. With his passing goes the old order of Chicago politics. The new regime about to take over will play politics too, of course—but the difference is that the new leaders appear to be out to provide good government as well.

The new Democratic standard-bearer will be Martin H. Kennelly, slated for the job of Mayor. But the party's actual new local boss is not Kennelly but a pint-sized, baldish, bright-eyed, tense, middle-aged lawyer, Jacob M. Arvey, who became chairman of the Cook County Democratic organization last July when Boss Kelly agreed to step down. The remarkable thing about Arvey, a smooth operator in practical politics, is his philosophy: "We believe in prosperity and security for all," he says, "and we underscore the *all*." If he succeeds in electing Kennelly on a platform of good government for Chicago and can strengthen the Cook County organization by giving precedence to principles, Arvey may provide the answer to the question of how big-city Democratic organizations can stage a comeback after the terrific punishment they took from the GOP in last November's elections.

Relatively unknown elsewhere, Arvey has a well established reputation in Chicago as a politico. He came up the hard way, through precinct and ward, and for years it was generally thought that he and Kelly were good friends. On the surface, they were. They had to be: it made good political sense. But underneath, the men were fundamentally different. Kelly never grew beyond the machine. All he knew was the hackneyed formula of making politics "pay." He was gruff and uncouth, and singularly ignorant of the fact when a vote-getter engaged in some petty racket. Politics has paid off for Arvey too. But in recent years he has become almost completely converted from a back-slapper into a man who goes around expounding the creed that "the future of our form of government and of the Democratic Party requires that we hang on to the principles of Franklin D. Roosevelt."

Today, Arvey is a highly successful lawyer and holder of real estate. He is the second of four partners in the firm of Epstein, Arvey, Ziffren and Mantyband, who hold forth on the forty-fourth floor of LaSalle Street's tallest building. The senior partner, Sam Epstein, is a Master in Chancery. Though the firm's clients arise chiefly out of political connections, its reputation is excellent—even among Republican lawyers.

Arvey was born 51 years ago in impoverished surroundings, almost in the heart of Chicago's Loop. As a boy, he

Arthur Hepner, a member of the editorial staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, *has contributed to the* New Republic *and other magazines in this country, Canada and England.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worked after school hours. To get through law school he delivered milk. It was then that he got his political baptism: one of his law professors ran for municipal judge as a Republican, and Jake campaigned for him.

He concentrated his operations on Chicago's 24th Ward, lying south and west of the Loop. Today, the neighborhood is run down, almost shabby, and populated heavily by lower-middle-class Jews, many of whom work in the garment trades. Years ago, though, the Twenty-fourth had a brighter façade. It had tree-lined streets, spacious private homes and smart apartments. Yet then as now, it voted Democratic. As in the far-off Solid South, the Democratic nomination for a ward office was tantamount to election. Into this Democratic stronghold came Arvey with his appeal for votes for his Republican candidate. By persistent doorbell-ringing, by making friends with an ingratiating smile and by meeting others' gripes and dreams with patience and counsel, he won supporters. From under the noses of the Democrats, young Jake delivered several precincts for the Republicans.

Learning the business

His unusual organizing gifts were immediately sensed by Moe Rosenberg, the none too finicky West Side Democratic boss. So Rosenberg offered him a precinct captaincy in his organization and got his man. Arvey has been identified with the Twenty-fourth ever since. When Rosenberg retired, he became top-kick in the ward organization; facing him was the formidable task of having to overhaul completely the machinery his predecessor had allowed to deteriorate. Calvin Coolidge carried the ward in 1924; but 12 years later Roosevelt got 29,000 votes from it against Alf Landon's 837. Much of that was Jake Arvey's doing.

He learned the fundamentals from the late Pat Nash, Ed Kelly's senior partner. Nash, the founder of the Kelly-Nash machine, took Arvey under his wing, and taught him the machine's time-honored method of never neglecting a neighbor who voted "right." Quick, shrewd, and a smooth, even-tempered talker, Arvey was soon getting himself elected regularly as alderman from the Twenty-fourth. The Kelly-Nash-Arvey combination became unbeatable there.

On the sidewalks and in the shops along Roosevelt Boulevard, and in the side-street tenements, people spoke of their alderman with a devotion just short of adoration. Using his nervous, dynamic drive, Arvey soon dominated the city council. He became finance-committee chairman, keeper of the purse-strings. Voters in the Twenty-fourth had not only "good" but "the best" connections at City Hall. They always got

Drawing by Zadig

"I WANT TO CONTINUE THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM," SAYS CHICAGO'S NEW BOSS, JAKE ARVEY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what they wanted; for many years there were always plenty of jobs open for 24th Ward voters. At one time their office holders were numbered in the thousands.

Old-time wardheelers respect Arvey's ability. They speak of him as "the party intellectual—the only man in the organization who ever read a book." They admire his schooling, his intelligence and his judgment, although his level of literacy must be rather disturbing to ward boys such as Botchy Connors and the saloon habitués high in the organization ranks. Jake's ad-lib remarks make easier reading than those of Mayor Kelly: they are direct, simple and often pungent. And they are generally delivered in a restrained manner, in marked contrast to Mayor Kelly's stormy profanities.

Yet Arvey's relatively "intellectual" background has not always enabled him to rise above the indignities of party maneuvering. Organization loyalty, Arvey himself admits, led him into making "my greatest political mistake." That happened in 1936. Kelly and Nash had broken with Governor Henry Horner over a race-track bill. Horner, a Jew, invited Arvey, who is also a Jew, along with other prominent Jewish Democratic leaders, to a conference at which he appealed for their support on sentimental grounds. He promised Arvey the state Democratic chairmanship if he would change allegiance. Arvey refused. He told Horner he belonged to the Kelly-Nash organization and proposed to go down the line with it. Caught between emotions and practicality, the Jews of the 24th Ward voted against Horner in the 1936 primary. They followed the orders of the men who distributed the jobs. Still, Horner won the primary and later was reëlected Governor.

Renouncing the "machine"

JAKE ("Call me Jack") Arvey continues to believe in political loyalty. But he has come a long way from those 1936 days of machine orthodoxy. Time was when the local political bosses held a monopoly on the distribution of favors, jobs and charity to the voters in their district. For every fix at court, for every entry permit for an immigrant, for every poll-watching job or collection racket or basket of holiday cheer, the payoff was votes. Votes perpetuated the boss's control over local offices and the exchequer. Kelly and Nash had no peers at this game. Arvey, early in his career, aped them.

But with the coming of the New Deal, the Roosevelt program had "muscled in" on the local boss's proprietary rights. With social security, relief, the WPA and other innovations, it had cut the ground from under the metropolitan political organizations. In Chicago this was a slow process. But Arvey caught on. Roosevelt and his ideas made a tremendous impression on him. In his early days of poverty and struggle he had seen the sordid products of the machine system; he recognized the economic ills bred by poor administration.

So he came to believe in "prosperity and security" for all, and his blind loyalty to the machine became switched to a creed based on a regard for the rights of the disfranchised minorities and of labor. Arvey meant it when he said recently: "I have no political ambitions of my own any more. I won't run again for office. It is hard for some to believe, but I returned to politics after the war last year merely to fight for a principle and not to seek political power."

Three strikes on Kelly

DURING the war Arvey had gone into the Army, winding up as a lieutenant-colonel in Illinois' 33rd Division in the Pacific. He came back to Chicago just before V-J Day, suffering from ulcers and seeking a rest. But his younger friends urged him to go back into politics, arguing that the party needed a shot in the arm. Arvey agreed to accept the Cook County chairmanship in response to their insistence that a new top leadership and a program for good government were needed.

One of Arvey's first decisions was to dump Kelly. He told friends that he failed to see how the Cook County organization could survive if it had to go on bearing the old boss as a load. Kelly had been so intent on winning national attention that he had neglected his own back yard. The Cook County organization was demoralized; Democrats were giving Chicago an inept administration.

Several scandals had occurred. The school system, for instance, was in trouble with the public: Superintendent James McCahey and a collaborating school board had approved for use a series of substandard textbooks written by McCahey himself and others. Meanwhile, veterans who were seeking taxicab licenses charged that Kelly was fighting their issuance because of his own heavy holdings in a taxicab company. Again, when Negroes moved into the new Airport public-housing project and a near race riot occurred, the police force made only token efforts to protect them. Almost every Chicago night club, downtown restaurant, cigar store and saloon had its dice games run by the Capone-dominated syndicates. James Reagan, the race-news boss, was slain for threatening to open his books for inspection. And Police Captain George Barnes's union-busting squad was skilled in the art of clubbing pickets.

The mayoralty sweepstakes

ARVEY could see the growing public indignation at these performances. But he knew that if he fought the machine in the open he would get nowhere. For the politicos' consumption, he announced that he would support Kelly if the Mayor chose to run in 1947. But he worked quietly behind the scenes to discourage Kelly and find another candidate. There were a number of possibilities.

Following their success at the polls last November, Cook County Republicans had named Russell W. Root, their county chairman, as GOP mayoralty candidate. It is generally known that Root was handpicked by Colonel Robert R. McCormick of the Chicago *Tribune* and by Governor Dwight H. Green, one of McCormick's stooges. McCormick, the story goes, engineered a meeting of Republican ward committeemen, conspicuously snubbing the Italian bloc. The meeting was held two days after the November elections. By obtaining commitments in writing for Root, McCormick won his nomination without a regular GOP organization meeting. Many old GOP workers were infuriated when the nomination was handed to them as a *fait accompli*, but there was nothing they could do about it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This move helped to give Arvey his chance. As the Chicago *Daily News* put it, "If Mayor Kelly presently seeks another term, the voters are likely to throw him out and elect Mr. Root to satisfy their well grounded desire for a change. If, however, Mr. Kelly wishes to close his 14 years as mayor by calling a young, forceful independent to the succession, the story might be different." So Arvey looked about for a man who could capture the independent vote and smother the shadowy Root. His first choice was Professor Paul Douglas, a prominent University of Chicago economist, former alderman and husband of former Representative-at-large Emily Taft Douglas. But although Douglas had a fine war record, professional vote-getters shied away from him because of his academic "taint."

Then there were others: John S. Clark, County Assessor; Ben Adamowski, an attraction to Chicago's large Polish vote; State Senator Richard Daly; and Cook County Prosecutor William J. Touhy. All were rejected for one reason or another. After many maneuvers and proddings from the *News* and Marshall Field's Chicago *Sun,* Arvey decided upon Martin Kennelly for the nomination.

Maneuvering for Kennelly

KENNELLY, the head of a large moving and storage concern, was known for his leadership in civic affairs. He was active in the work of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and during the recent war years had been chairman of Chicago's Red Cross drive.

As word dropped that Arvey intended to run him, independents became enthusiastic. With the Democrats, they planned a winning drive. But all was not well. Kennelly pondered the offer, then turned it down. Arvey had refused to promise him a free hand and freedom from the organization, which Kennelly regarded as essential. Meanwhile, Ed Kelly hinted he proposed to run again, and Arvey, shrewdly playing the game of crafty politics, told Chicago newspapermen he would go along with the Mayor.

Milburn P. Akers, the *Sun's* political columnist, was outraged. On December 1, he let go with a double-barreled attack: "Kelly is the boss, so far as Arvey is currently concerned, just as Kelly was the boss in 1933, so far as Arvey was concerned." This was all a far cry, said Akers, "from those things Arvey has been telling progressive and civic-minded citizens. It makes a mockery of his pretense to liberalism. It justifies the belief that Arvey has merely sought to use liberals for the advantage of the machine he runs for Kelly." But 20 days later Akers was eating crow in his own column. What happened in the meantime was that Arvey pleaded with "Big Ed" Kelly. He brought up the attacks on his administration and the disunity among the organization members over his neglect of Chicago. He pointed out that the school, housing, transportation, race and other fiascos were all grist for the GOP mill. He cited the national trend toward change. These cumulative arguments prevailed: Arvey convinced Kelly they would "have a hell of a time winning if he ran," and got him to announce his retirement. "O.K.," said Kelly, "let's name the candidate. Let's get it over with."

Drawing by Seligson

FADE-OUT: CHICAGO'S "BIG ED" KELLY

While he was dumping the Mayor, Arvey decided to accept Kennelly's terms. And Kennelly, too, responded to a suave, silver-tongued appeal to his patriotism, and agreed to run.

Arvey enjoys identifying himself with Kennelly's "good-government" views. On the other hand it is unlikely that Kennelly, though personally independent, would venture to voice them without the boss's approval. They command the attention of anyone who regards himself as a progressive citizen. Kennelly says, for instance: "The Negro problem is not a special problem but *our* problem. We must face it and combat it as an evil of society. The same thing goes for anti-Semitism. These should not be considered apart from the general body of problems facing Americans, for anti-Semitism is not a crime against the Jew nor prejudice a crime against the Negro. Both are crimes against the Constitution and the government."

By and large, liberal groups on the scene regard Arvey's professed creed as genuine. The Independent Voters of Illinois and the CIO-PAC are supporting him. Yet some groups have reservations, fearing that at any moment he may revert to type. They remember that Jake was bred on a diet of political spoils. They recall, for instance, that his brother once obtained a handsome contract from the state to supply its office equipment while Arvey was still an alderman and chairman of the city council's finance committee

Arvey: Beginning of a trend?

YET talking with Arvey gives one an impression of earnestness that allays suspicion. He is smooth. As one writer has said: "They'll never catch Jake Arvey!" His conversion, though, seems almost complete. One believes him when he says: "I tell businessmen that, just as they desire insurance against loss or destruction of property, the New Deal asks the people to pay insurance in the form of social security and a decent break for labor to guard against social unrest."

There is an evident strain of worry in his eye when he talks of the inroads made by reaction and the need to repel them.

If he holds to his promises and beliefs, the hard-boiled and yet sensitive Jake Arvey may become one of the significant progressive influences in the national Democratic Party. If he comes through, the victory will make a good case for dumping the Tammany bosses, the Hagues, the Pendergasts and the Crumps.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"His Excellency, the Secretary of State of the USA"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Copyright Low, Courtesy the New York Times

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Atoms for Everybody

by Philip Morrison

A specialist on the Bomb tells how science and peacetime industry can utilize atomic energy

THE biggest single industrial enterprise in the United States today is not General Motors or US Steel but the Atomic Energy Commission and all that it controls. Apart from being the world's ultimate military threat, atomic energy is also fast becoming the basis of what one might call the alchemical industry. It sprawls across the country, half-secret, little understood, but with almost limitless possibilities.

In trying to assess these possibilities, we may as well begin at the beginning —with the process on which this industry of the future depends.

The basis of the atomic-energy industry is a process known as the "fission chain reaction." A chain reaction is established when a mass of fissionable material such as uranium is bombarded with high-speed nuclear particles known as neutrons, and when each release of a neutron in turn releases another neutron. When this reaction is fast and violent, the result is the atomic bomb. Slower, and under careful control, it provides the atomic energy that may turn the wheels and drive the turbines of the industry of the future.

Philip Morrison, professor of Physics at Cornell University, is one of America's leading authorities on atomic energy. During the war he worked on the atomic-bomb project at Los Alamos, New Mexico, and participated in the final assembling of bombs on Tinian Island before flights to Japan. Later, he was a member of the scientific evaluation party that went to study the effects of bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The only species of nucleus found in nature that will support a chain reaction is the famous light isotope of uranium, U-235. It is present wherever uranium is found, and always in the same proportion: one part out of 139 will be the light isotope of uranium. The other 138 parts will be U-238. A piece of metal made from U-235 has the same blue-brown color as a piece of normal uranium; it is dissolved by the same acids in the same way; it can be cut and scratched in the same way. It differs only in its weight and in its spectacular nuclear properties.

Before atomic energy can be developed or a chain reaction started, ore must be dug and purified until some compound of uranium is obtained. The processes are like those used to prepare any rather rare chemical; they might be compared to the mining and refining of tungsten for the filaments of light bulbs. Some of our uranium comes from the remote mines of the Haut Katanga in the high tropical plateau of the Belgian Congo; some comes from a Canadian mine at Great Bear Lake near the Arctic Circle, and some from mines in western Colorado and Utah.

Refining, in turn, is carried on at widely separated small chemical plants all working under contract with the Atomic Energy Commission.

All this is just the beginning. No technique of chemistry wil suffice to separate the light U-235 atoms from the pure uranium compound that has now been produced. That must be done in the unique and costly plants of Oak Ridge—a government-owned city of some 30,000 population along the Clinch River near Knoxville, Tennessee.

The Oak Ridge townsite alone cost about $100 million, entirely apart from the plants; it grew in one wartime year from a quiet countryside to a great guarded reserve holding the most remarkable technical and engineering structures of this century. Now Oak Ridge is working continuously for the Atomic Energy Commission, and its job is to separate the light isotope of uranium, U-235. This process, which until 1942 had been accomplished only in laboratories, is carried on by different methods at two Oak Ridge plants.

The enormous plant called K-25, that is operated by the Carbide and Carbon Chemicals Corporation (a subsidiary of Union Carbide), employs about 5,000 persons and separates U-235 by diffusion. The plant cost about $500 million to design and construct, with another $50 million or so going to the research and development behind the process. Its miles of corridors run past the most highly developed automatic-process machinery in the world.

The plant pumps gas containing uranium through invisible holes contained in a number of finely constructed barriers. Because the molecules of U-235 are a little lighter than those of U-238, they move a bit faster, and so diffuse more quickly through the holes in the tiny barrier. The difference is slight, but since the gas is run and rerun through the barriers literally thousands of times, the result is the separation of the light isotope. Gas containing a high concentration of U-235 appears after a long time at one end of the plant; gas depleted of the valuable isotope concentrates as waste at the other.

Magnetic deflection

A SECOND large plant at Oak Ridge, called Y-12 and operated by the Tennessee Eastman Corporation, separates U-235 by another method. Here, uranium atoms are made to travel in a high vacuum under the deflecting forces of electric and magnetic fields. Again the difference in weight between the U-235 atoms and those of U-238 is the key to the process. Heavy and light isotopes travel slightly different paths and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are collected in different boxes at the ends of their paths. This is but the magnification on a vast scale of what the physicist has long done for tiny quantities in his laboratory.

The Y-12 electromagnetic plant was relatively easy to build and was the first completed unit of the project. It has always been expensive to operate; the air of bustle that accompanies the magnified laboratory operations of this plant was always in sharp contrast to the quiet and aseptic halls of the diffusion plant. In recent months employment at Y-12 has sharply dropped. This change probably reflects the full functioning of the diffusion plant, which by now must be separating nearly all the U-235 that the US produces.

Plutonium an end product

BUT the U-235 obtained in this way is not the only material which can be used as a nuclear fuel or explosive. A second type is plutonium—which, although a form of an element, is not found in nature but can be successfully synthesized. Another alternative is U-233, a component of uranium which is so short-lived (*i. e.,* disintegrates so rapidly from intense radio-activity) that it is not found in natural uranium.

Both plutonium and U-233 can be made by transmutation—that is, by bombarding the nuclei of another atomic species with neutrons. In the first case, neutrons smashing at the nuclei of heavy uranium atoms (U-238) give us plutonium 239. In the second case, atoms of thorium (Th-232) gobble up neutrons and are transformed eventually into uranium atoms with weight 233.

The only known source of neutron ammunition in quantity sufficient to produce large-scale transmutation is the chain reaction itself. But the chain reaction also needs nuclear fuel. The dilemma is solved by the very ingenious method of the *pile.* Normal uranium will maintain a chain reaction if it is arranged in lumps in an appropriate geometrical lattice with carbon filling in the boxes of the lattice to slow down the neutrons. The carbon is usually in the form of graphite and the total arrangement looks something like a Tinker Toy.

By various means the intensity of the neutron bombardment—which comes from the uranium 235 atoms—may be increased to any desired value. The neutrons are absorbed by the U-238 present, and plutonium is formed. The uranium metal in the pile, after it has been allowed to react with neutrons for some time, can be removed. The plutonium, present in the once pure uranium, together with scores of radioactive fission products, can now be separated by ordinary chemical means. Plutonium is therefore an end product of the same type of chain reaction in which it will be used later as a nuclear fuel or explosive.

Plutonium is produced in three large chain-reacting normal-uranium piles near Hanford, Washington, on the Columbia River, whose waters are passed through the machines to remove the heat generated in the pile. The process raises the river temperature several degrees. Plutonium from Hanford and U-235 from Oak Ridge are at present being shipped to Los Alamos, New Mexico, where they are shaped into parts that make up an atomic-bomb assembly.

Fuel of the future

IN addition to their use in the bomb, plutonium and uranium 235 are also the raw materials for industrial atomic energy. Many of the laboratories that did the research for the bomb are now concentrating on non-military uses of atomic power. The Oak Ridge electromagnetic plant, with its great high-vacuum systems and huge magnets, was the outcome of the work of the research laboratory operated by the University of California under the indefatigable Ernest Lawrence, inventor of the cyclotron. It was the great magnet of the unfinished giant cyclotron which in 1941 formed the basis for the Y-12 development at Oak Ridge. The California laboratory, with its magnificent shops and its brilliant talent, is still at work. Rather than uranium fission, its major effort is directed today toward the new high-energy physics, the study of the fundamental nature of the nuclear forces. Even though atomic energy has been released and harnessed, these forces are not well understood.

Similar advances with important future applications are being made in the low hills of a county forest preserve about 30 miles west of Chicago. After the first chain reaction was produced on the University of Chicago campus late in 1942, the uranium pile was moved outside the city to a place called the Argonne Laboratory. In 1944 a second pile for research purposes was completed at the Argonne. It consists of a medium-sized tank surrounded by a concrete shield wall and uses heavy water instead of graphite to slow the neutrons. The reactor on which the Germans were working when the war ended was of this type; a larger version than that at the Argonne is now operating successfully at Chalk River, in Ontario. Heavy water is simply water, H_2O, in which the hydrogen present is not ordinary hydrogen but its isotope of weight two. This is in many ways the easiest isotope to prepare in pure form. The Germans had a few tons of heavy water, which was made at the famous electrochemical plant in Norway. The Atomic Energy Commission has made heavy water in considerable quantity, at several plants in this country and at one in British Columbia. Heavy water looks exactly like the water that runs from your bathroom faucet, but costs about $100 a pint.

The Argonne is at present operated on a coöperative basis by a group of Midwestern universities, under contract to the commission, as a "national laboratory." At Brookhaven, Long Island, another nuclear-physics and pile laboratory is now being set up for the commission under the sponsorship of Eastern universities.

High-power "pile"

AT Oak Ridge, the duPont Company built a semi-production pile, or pilot plant, that was the first to operate at high power. Contained within the Clinton Laboratories that are now operated by the Monsanto Chemical Company, this development is a graphite pile, with pieces of metallic normal uranium placed in rows in long channels in the graphite. An air blast down the channels cools the metal, removing the heat generated by fission and sending hot air up a large smokestack. The energy generated by the plant would be sufficient for a town of about 3,000

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

population if it were converted to electrical power instead of being wasted.

The Clinton Laboratories pile also produces large amounts of radioactive materials which may be purchased from the commission by research institutions, hospitals, scientists, and anyone else who meets the conditions set forth in the McMahon-Douglas Atomic Energy Act. Radioactive substances are used for therapy in such diseases as leukemia and hyperthyroidism; they have a vastly more important use in tracer research in biology and chemistry. The supply of these isotopes cheaply and in quantity is a valuable and growing part of the alchemical industry.

More fame for Los Alamos

Los Alamos itself belongs in the research parade. The tools of the nuclear physicist—the cyclotron, the high-voltage machine, the betatron—were brought to the high New Mexico mountains. Los Alamos has developed techniques in the handling of materials whose very names are not known elsewhere, and is carrying out an important research program despite its burdens of isolation, secrecy and bomb-making.

From the viewpoint of atomic energy for non-military uses, the concentration of power is the most spectacular and the most promising property of nuclear fuels. The power of a city like Pittsburgh would require the consumption of no more than two or three pounds of nuclear fuel a day. Initially the energy appears as simple heat—the interior of the pile heats up from the controlled chain reaction. But heat itself is not too useful; it must be converted into a form of energy that can produce electrical power, the most flexible and useful form of energy on a large scale.

The conversion of heat into electrical energy is done every day in every coal-burning power plant. Atomic power will simply replace the fire-box under the steam boiler. Some substance—a gas, like steam; or a liquid, like molten sodium metal—will be circulated through the hot interior of the pile, as water and steam go through the boiler tubes of a locomotive. This flowing substance will then be directed to turn the spinning blades of a turbine, which drives the electric generator.

Among the practical problems of applying atomic energy to industry is that of building a chain reactor which can get hot without disintegrating. The conversion of heat into useful power is efficient only when high temperatures are involved. There is a whole family of possible chain reactors, from the large ones using normal uranium and weighing a thousand tons or so, down to a bomblike "critical mass" of pure plutonium not as big as your hand. So far only two small, low-power, low-temperature enriched reactors have been made. Both are at Los Alamos. But scientists of the Monsanto firm at Oak Ridge are now working on the design of a power reactor that will probably be cooled by helium gas and with which they hope to be driving turbines by the end of 1948. And certainly it is likely that someone, somewhere, will have perfected a high-power nuclear reactor giving electrical power by the end of 1950. Which of the diverse routes it will follow no one knows. Whether the cooling and working substance will be a gas like helium, or a molten metal, or high-pressure steam—and whether the reactor will use normal uranium in a large pile, or partly enriched U-235 or even pure nuclear fuel—are questions for the future.

But the decisive question about industrial atomic power remains that of cost. In the United States nuclear energy must compete with cheap and abundant coal. Only construction and continued operation of a number of different plants under careful accounting will determine the cost of atomic energy. But there are competent engineers who maintain that uranium power can compete right now with any but the cheapest coal-generated power.

British hammer and anvil

The impact of atomic energy on the economy of the US will not be great for some time to come, but consider what a few million-kilowatt plants could mean to a Great Britain, now caught between the hammer of rising needs for power and the anvil of lower coal production. All of Britain's electric-power needs could be met by the "burning" of about 20 pounds of nuclear fuel a day. The labor cost of coal in the US is less than $2 per ton; in Britain, it is nearly $5. In such a situation, atomic power may well prove economic in a few years' time.

Another uncertainty in the development of industrial atomic power has to do with the choice between using normal uranium as it comes from the ground, or partially or wholly enriched nuclear fuel. The decision will depend on the problems of getting high temperatures, and on the economics of raw-material supply as compared with the cost of the complicated chemical processes involved in reworking the exposed uranium for its content of plutonium. The fact that power can be obtained either with or without the simultaneous production of nuclear fuel and explosive is evidently of great concern in the problem of international control, and the distinction made (as in the Acheson-Lilienthal report) between activities "safe" for national or private enterprise and those too "dangerous" to be operated save by an international authority, depends upon this fact.

Fifty tons of shielding

Despite much loose talk, the immediate prospects for a small-sized, long-running atomic engine capable of powering aircraft or automobiles are remote. A small, reacting critical mass of plutonium, properly cooled, could generate thousands of horsepower. But it would have to be surrounded with a minimum of some 50 tons of dense metal shielding to prevent the neutrons and gamma-radiation which necessarily accompany fission from producing radiation sickness in the men who operate the reactor. The shielding properties of matter depend on its fundamental atomic and nuclear structure; it is not possible to expect a new alloy or an ingenious arrangement which would reduce the 50-ton minimum very much. Unless your vehicle is large enough to accommodate a 50-ton power plant, you cannot hope to gain much from nuclear energy.

Ships, naval or merchant, can certainly be freed from the need to refuel. Small aircraft probably cannot, but the cost of their power is of minor importance anyway. No one burns coal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

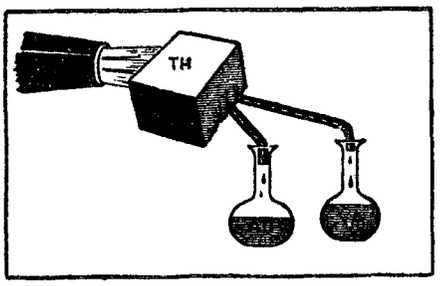
in aircraft, though it is much cheaper than 100-octane gasoline. Large aircraft may exploit the possibilities of the atom. At Oak Ridge, a group under the direction of the Fairchild Aircraft and Engine Corporation are trying to propel aircraft by nuclear energy. Most of the large aviation concerns are represented in the effort.

The use of atomic energy for superweapons, like the intercontinental rockets or pilotless robot aircraft of long range, is more likely to develop successfully. Here, crew and passengers are absent, and shielding is required only to protect instruments.

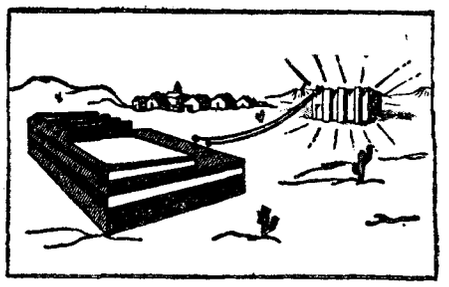
While scientists apply their ingenuity to developing atomic energy for industrial purposes, the production of atomic bombs continues at Los Alamos. What one can expect is not a notable change in the bomb itself, or any great increase in the power of its explosion, but rather a reworking of the many technical features of the bomb which determine its tactical employment. It is clear that it can be turned into a flexible weapon, suited to kill the people of a town by explosion high in the air, to demolish the heaviest of underground fortifications by detonation deep in the ground, or to attack naval targets with great effect. The devastating effect of the blast, of the heat and of the enormous instantaneous gamma-radiation are now known. Less clear is the effect of the radioactive "debris" which the bomb may leave behind. But conservative calculations show that it may take months or even years before an area contaminated by such debris becomes safe again.

The common and unauthorized talk about bombs "thousands of times more powerful" than those used so far is discounted by most specialists. That the possibility exists is certainly true; that any realization is at hand seems most unlikely. In the unfortunate absence of clear official statements, it is better to realize that the present bomb is quite bad enough. The number "a thousand times" is easy to say; but it is hardly possible to describe with equanimity the results of an even vaster explosion, with its heat and its radioactive debris, than the one which was witnessed by Dr. Sasaki, by the Jesuit priest, and by the agonized mother of Hiroshima.

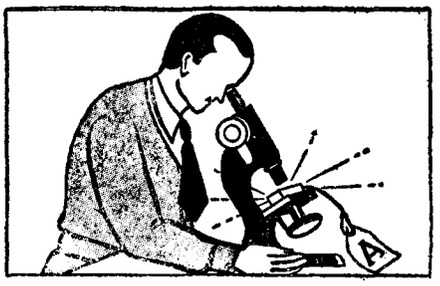
What atomic energy can do in peace



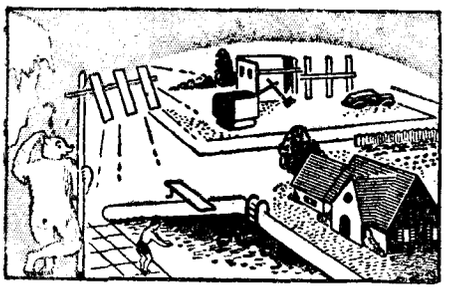
Enlarge our supplies of rare and valuable elements by transmutation from elements in their natural state



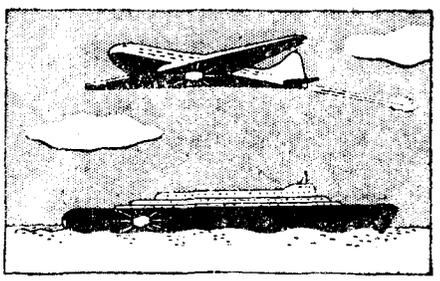
Provide a power source for isolated areas which now have no easily available fuel supply



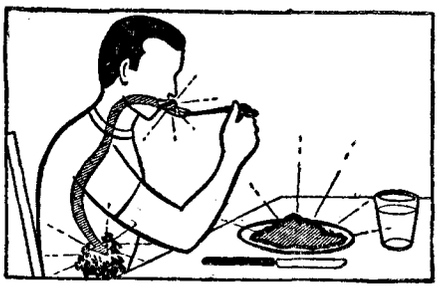
Supply "tagged" atoms which will enable us to follow complicated physical and chemical processes



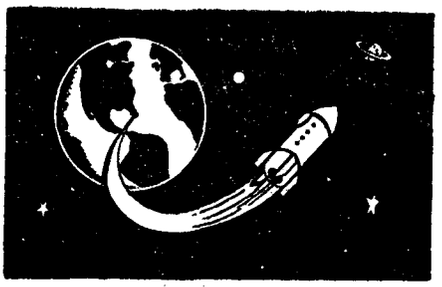
Provide heat that will thaw arctic regions and make them habitable and usefully productive



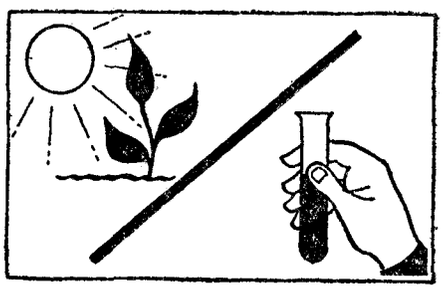
Provide power units for large aircraft and for ocean-going ships that can then fly and sail without refueling



Enable the manufacture of radioactive elements that destroy some cancer tissue and hold out hope for cancer victims



Provide a source of fuel powerful enough to bring interplanetary travel nearer to the realm of possibility



Manufacture radioactive isotopes which may enable us to learn how chlorophyll creates food and to duplicate the process

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"What'll We Use for Dough?"

by Bernard Posner

A family with $5,000 per year would like to buy the shiny, new gadgets the hucksters advertise, but simply hasn't the cash

I MAKE $5,000 a year, so that puts me in the income class that advertising copywriters try to reach when they hawk their gleaming, postwar world.

I'm supposed to be in the market for a new car, a refrigerator with deep-freeze unit, a combination radio and bookcase, ankle-deep yellow rugs and chromium kitchen gadgets that cook toast, coffee and eggs at the same time.

My wife is supposed to buy perfume that will stand me on my ear, a wristwatch the size of a pinhead, lacy black underthings, three-inch-high platform shoes and mail-order ready-cooked turkeys. We both are supposed to look at each other and sigh rapturously, "Ah, the new postwar world is here at last!"

According to the ads, it must have arrived, but we wouldn't know it otherwise. Because here's how we fritter away the $5,000 it takes me 2,040 hours to earn.

My salary amounts to $416.67 a month—more money than I ever hoped to earn nine years ago when I started as copy boy on a magazine at $18 a week. When I get paid the first of each month, $48.67 slides out before I see it for Uncle Sam's housekeeping expenses. This income-tax deduction takes into account the three of us: me, the wife and our baby boy. So all I spread out that night on the dining-room table is $368.

Before we even run our fingers through those greenbacks, we peel off $65 a month for rent for our three-room apartment. Fortunately, rent includes light, water and heat. Another $7 goes for Group Health Association dues for all the medical and hospital care we might need during the month, including the baby's pediatrician. The telephone company claims about $8 each month, which is high because it includes two or three long-distance calls to our parents, who live some 500 miles away. By our book, these calls are not luxuries, for they take the place of trips home, which we can't afford more than once a year.

I hold $10,000 worth of GI insurance which an overpowering corporal sold me when I was inducted into the Army. Premiums are $6.80 a month. I write an additional monthly check for $10 for a life-insurance policy. That's all I can afford to protect my wife and baby, even though I agree with insurance ad writers who tell me it's not enough.

We save $18.75 a month in the shape of a US Savings Bond—our only savings.

Frankly, this worries me more than my undersized insurance policies. I happened to see statistics on savings for an average family of our size in 1944, published by the Labor Department's Bureau of Labor Statistics. This family, earning between $4,000 and $5,000 a year, saved $571 during the year, excluding insurance. If we don't have to cash any bonds, our yearly savings will come to less than half that amount.

So after meeting our inevitable payday expenses, I finally shovel $252.45 into my wallet.

If my wife watches prices like a hawk and curbs my appetite for corned beef and mushrooms, food for the three of us costs about $95 a month. That might sound like the food budget for a small zoo, but prices of butter, eggs and other necessities have skyrocketed, despite publicized cuts of a cent or two.

Our neighborhood supermarket, for example, gets 75 cents a pound for butter, 60 cents for a dozen eggs, at least 69 cents a pound for choice meats, 50 cents for 10 puny oranges, and 49 cents and up for canned fruit. Other prices have ballooned proportionately. Milk for the three of us at 20 cents a quart accounts for $9 of our monthly food allowance. And the baby eats $10 worth of banana flakes, cereal, cod-liver oil and other horrible concoctions. I haven't chewed my way through a thick porterhouse for months. We drool longingly in the butcher shop, but settle for ground round steak and a chuck roast.

Food costs don't include my lunches which amount to about $20 a month, or an average of 70 cents a meal. At that, I shop around for cafeteria bargains. I try to impress my wife with my efforts to save on lunches. She snorts, "Seventy cents a day? Why, when I worked before I married you, I never spent more than 35 cents!" She should try it now.

Gas, oil and diapers

A FEW years back I bought a 1935 Ford which I can keep chugging for $25 a month, including collision insurance—if nothing drastic goes wrong. Gas and oil account for about half and the rest goes into repairs.

Laundry and dry cleaning come to $12 a month. Another $7 goes for the baby's diaper service, which isn't a luxury when you consider how many diapers he plows through a day.

Our clothing bills average at least $20 a month. This includes suits, dresses and coats pro-rated over the months of wear they give us. My wife has yet to own her first fur coat and I, my first hand-tailored suit.

Bernard Posner formerly worked for a trade magazine, the Advertiser, *served during the war as a captain in Army Air Forces and is now doing public-relations work in Washington.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Just last night our month's clothing allowance melted down to just $6.

"Honey," I began, "there's a shirt sale in town tomorrow. I . . ."

"Shirts? Oh yes. See if you can get half a dozen for the baby at the Kiddie Shoppe."

"But I . . ."

"And he's outgrowing his nightgowns. Try to get three."

"But . . ."

"And you'd better leave me $7 tomorrow. There's a sale on blouses and I haven't a decent one to my name."

Figure it yourself. Six shirts for the baby, $3; three nighties, $2; the wife, $7. So I settled for four pairs of socks for $2.

After all these expenses stop slugging me all month, my wallet, which once contained $252.45, now holds $73.45.

Literary diet inedible

BUT that is by no means all. Next comes an interminable procession of little expenses, each nibbling a few bucks away.

The wife and I each smoke a pack of cigarettes a day. That comes to $10 a month.

Five dollars go toward our literary diet, which consists of morning and evening newspapers, the *New Republic* and the *Saturday Review of Literature* and, whenever I can smuggle it by my wife, a book.

Drugs, medicines, shaving and tooth-cleaning equipment, baby oils and powders shear off another $6. Haircuts and hairdoes set us back $5. It takes $6 to keep the house clean, my wife reports. This includes soap, polish and the type of little postwar gadgets we can afford, such as a self-wringing mop, a pressure cooker and a plastic tablecloth.

At this point, we stop again and count what remains of the $73.45. I don't need an accountant to tell me that, in addition to a snapshot of the wife and son, my driver's license and a defunct Army identification card, my wallet now contains $41.45.

To go on from there.

Recreation costs $15 a month. Of this, dining out and a movie or play twice a month come to $10. The remaining five we spend entertaining friends at home with rum, cokes and potato chips. I pay about $10 a month for donations to charity and for gifts to an endless succession of people continually having babies, getting married or celebrating birthdays and anniversaries.

A hole in the nest egg

FINALLY, furniture, drapes and the like come to about $11 a month. After buying, buying, buying every month, you'd think our little home would look like a retail furniture store. It doesn't. I shudder when I think what we still need.

When we furnished the apartment after I got out of the Army last year, we spent evenings poring over full-color pictures in magazines of model rooms done up in early American, colonial, French, renaissance, medieval, modern, dadaistic and every other conceivable style. We settled for imitation-maple furniture on a twelve-payment plan, one-third down. At that, we had to dip $300 out of our $1,500 nest egg.

That's about all, except for a platoon of costs we can't foresee, like a new rear end for the Ford, a second-hand typewriter, the cost of bringing our little boy into the world, and so on and on and on.

After I stagger through the entire month—scattering a five here, a ten there, a twenty some place else—my beat-up wallet holds exactly five $1 bills and my pants pocket jingles 45 cents.

So what happens to the treasured five-spot plus?

On the way to the office at the end of the month, I begin eyeing booksellers' windows and juggling prices in my head. If I buy Koestler's *Thieves in the Night* for $2.75, that leaves me enough for the Modern Library's illustrated *Don Quixote*. Or I think of the $5 in terms of three bow ties, one striped, one checked and one flowered. Or I lay plans for an extra night out for the two of us.

And then I come home.

"You should have around five dollars and change left," my wife remarks as if she had X-ray eyes.

I'm still fumbling for an answer when she makes her point:

"Let's have it. I saw some lovely kitchen curtains."

She leaves me the 45 cents in case I run out of gas on the way to work payday morning.

Next day at a quarter to eight, as my car stammers along the highway toward town and as I keep one ear cocked for any unusual noises, I recall a survey made by the National Housing Agency, "A National Survey of Veterans' Housing Plans and Present Accommodations As of June, 1946."

It contained a section on the weekly income for veterans, at last summer's level. What the report had to say is even more valid today, with incomes about the same but with prices painfully higher. Its conclusions aren't far off with respect to the non-veteran population, but I'm using it instead of an over-all population breakdown because (1) I'm a veteran and (2) there are millions like me who, when they left the Army and Navy, had to build their civilian lives from scratch and become at least potential customers of the nation's advertisers.

96 out of 100 lack "it"

THE survey said that only four out of every 100 ex-GI's were as fortunate as I and make $80 a week or more.

It said that 36 out of every 100 made from $20 to $40 a week; 34 from $40 to $60; and 13 from $60 to $100.

And it said that the average weekly income of married veterans was $48, while all others managed to eke out $31. So I'm not complaining about my $5,000 a year.

All I wonder is, to whom are the advertisers talking when they paint their brightly colored landscapes of this wonderful postwar world?

Who's going to buy private planes that whisk a man and his family for weekends in the country?

Who's going to build a chromium-trimmed kitchen with devices that cook, serve a meal and wash the dishes at the flick of a switch?

And who's going to buy a hound's-tooth lounging jacket or a mink coat?

It certainly won't be the 96 out of 100 veterans who are lucky if they can keep their old cars running, their kitchen sinks from stopping, and if they can buy a blue serge suit or an over-priced housedress.

And it certainly won't be me.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

First Aid for Communists

THOSE who are working for world-wide Communist rule have found a new ally—James Burnham, formerly known as the author of *The Managerial Revolution.* His new book *The Struggle for the World* (John Day, $3) will probably be denounced by the Communists as American fascism, but their dialectics ought to show them that Burnham's argument is just the sort of thing that by antithesis could consolidate their forces and bring the eventual crisis nearer.

Burnham teaches philosophy at New York University. Politically, he has gone through several stages. For a while he took part in numerous left-wing labor activities, of the sort in which Communists also participated. Then he was close to the Trotskyists, but broke with Trotsky. Later he was popular with the industrial executives who, he said, were going to rule the world. There is no suggestion that his views have ever been attributable to a party line of any sort; he obviously makes up his own mind. But he may be regarded as a sample of those who, having been too close for comfort to extreme left factions, have swung violently in the other direction. He himself would vehemently deny that he is aiding communism; I am applying to him his own injunction that people should be judged not by what they say, but by its effect; not by the names they call things, but by the underlying reality.

The book is largely devoted to a denunciation of communism and Communists—a philippic of the sort which is so familiar that by most readers it would merely be classified in its appropriate filing cabinet. What is significant is what the author wants to do about it. This brings out with extraordinary clarity the logical but hitherto unacknowledged tendency of many former leftists who spend their lives hating and fearing the rulers of Russia—a group which by this time wields a considerable influence in American culture. It is as an index of the real political meaning of the fanatical anti-Communist line, rather than because of his individual eminence, that Burnham's book requires analysis.

Etching by Goya *"The Disasters of the War"*

HIS PROGRAM rests on the belief that the menace of communism is the ruling danger in the world and that the US is the only nation capable of checking it. A struggle for power between the Soviet Union and the United States is inevitable. Foreign and domestic policy ought to be mobilized about this struggle, and every other consideration ought to be sacrificed to winning it at the earliest possible moment. This probably means war, but even if war should involve the destruction of Western civilization, that would be better than to submit to communist rule.

Such a forthright attitude deserves at least serious consideration. In considering it one cannot ignore the corollary beliefs and the means of waging the struggle which are proposed. It is strongly implied that the war to defeat the Axis was a mistake, since it involved the birth of a greater danger. Burnham is obviously less afraid of fascism, either at home or abroad, than of communism. Some time there may be a world government, but it is silly to talk of it now; the United Nations is powerless and is not even a means of approaching world government. No national government can possibly regard peace as a major aim, since governments are organized to carry on a struggle for power. What is required is that this country should at once set out to consolidate an empire including the whole world except Russia and her satellites. Britain should be invited in as a junior partner; other nations should be carried along by a mixture of interest, cajolery and threat. It

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

need not be a brutal or oppressive empire, but there should be no doubt that Americans were dominant. We should support ruthlessly every opponent of Russia, including Chiang Kai-shek and the Greek royalists.

At home we should suppress the Communist movement, with whatever restrictions of civil liberties that might involve. This suppression would include not only members of the party but also those who Burnham fancies are consciously or unconsciously under its influence: specifically mentioned are the *New Republic,* the *Nation, PM,* numerous CIO unions, the American Labor Party, the PAC, the Federation of Atomic Scientists and a number of other organizations. Then the State Department and other governmental agencies should be thoroughly purged. Although Burnham does not mention the desirability of a gestapo, or the need for concentration camps, such agencies would obviously be required.

One of the main reasons advanced for this concentration of power at home and abroad is to establish a secure anti-Communist monopoly of atomic weapons. It is not explained why Russia could not develop them as well; indeed in the latter part of the book it is assumed that she would. But such lapses of logic are drowned in the author's emotional necessity to mobilize everything against Stalinism, even if that means suicide.

Equally significant are the omissions in the program. Though the immense industrial power of the United States is emphasized, there is scarcely a word about the danger of a major depression originating in this country; about the worldwide fear of American economic instability; or about the diastrous results to domestic and world liberalism which would ensue from another slump like that of the 1930's. Nor is there any mention of the need to keep native fascist influences at bay and to moderate dangerous racial, religious or class antagonisms.

THE actual outcome of such a policy needs no exposition. An imperial-minded America, challenging Russia to fight, supporting reaction abroad and attempting to suppress dissent at home, would soon lose to the Communists the competition for men's loyalty everywhere. It would prove that the Communist propaganda about American capitalism was true. What could more quickly repel the British, the French, the Latin Americans? Meanwhile the progressive movement in the United States would be irrevocably destroyed; many of its leaders probably being—if they were lucky—in jail. If the country were to be saved from economic collapse, it would only be by a vast armaments program. In the end, weakened by internal schisms, we should be regarded as the universal enemy; it would be Russia which would gain allies to destroy us.

If it is true that communism is a great danger, then the correct policy is not to be fascinated by it like a rabbit confronted by a snake, but to devote our energies to repairing, extending, improving the strong points of our own culture. We cannot attract support by factionalism and political weakness on the Left. We cannot afford to leave in power those who do embody the characteristics and bring on the calamities which make recruits for communism. Obsessive anti-communism is, in the long run, the most potent Communist agent in the United States.

GEORGE SOULE

Midwest Dynasty

GRANDFATHER HENRY WALLACE, ordained minister, chaplain in the Civil War, lived to be 80, launched *Wallaces' Farmer* and became a prophet for all Iowa and the cornlands. His first-born son, Henry C. Wallace, became Secretary of Agriculture under Harding. And *his* first-born son, Henry Agard Wallace, who started astonishing genetic experiments at 16, served in Washington as Secretary of Agriculture, Vice President and later Secretary of Commerce and is now, among other things, editor, politician, seer and head of a seed-corn business that did a $4 million business in 1944.

These facts and others are contained in a folksy, comprehensive, 600-page family chronicle by Russell Lord, *The Wallaces of Iowa* (Houghton Mifflin, $5) awarded a "Life-in-America" prize by its publisher—which makes a vivid contrast between the heredity of a remarkable family of the American Midwest and the customary New England study of Bay State aristocrats. It is grass-roots Wallaces versus Boston Brahmins, Land Grant Colleges versus Harvard. And one can't finish this book, with its mighty background panorama of tassled corn and dappled wheatfields, without thanking God that America is big enough to produce both types.

THE WALLACES were a Scotch-Irish family, tough-muscled and tough-minded, whose members had an odd feeling that solvency and salvation went together, but an even stronger belief that there are a lot of things more important than money. The lives of these three men, as the author points out, exhibit an extraordinary sense of genetic continuity of which they were conscious and proud. Seen in succession, the three closely knit lives represent a continuing identity against a century backdrop of amazing change. Lincoln jogs through the opening chapters, surely "the most awkward man that ever rode a horse," and at the end there are new details regarding the circumstances under which Henry Wallace left the Truman cabinet.

The biographer has tried the experiment of writing not about one but about three men. Certain values are obscured by such treatment; on the other hand the picture of a family unfolding on the great American canvas becomes broader, and in the character of the present Henry Wallace there seems to appear a case of what geneticists call "grandfatherism"—a throwback, to a remarkable degree, to the attributes of the first of the line. What stands out, too, is that this corn-land strain definitely and distinctly knows it is not mere common folk; the members know, says the sympathetic but detached author, "that they are most extraordinary." They bear their family pride with genuine humility—but they are proud. "They are possessed of a sense of family destiny that drives them hard."

Grandfather Henry Wallace was born in a log house in 1836. An unconventional young theologian, he enjoyed tobacco and would sometimes "stomp

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lithograph by Grant Wood *Courtesy of Associated American Artists, Inc.*

out" his fuming Pittsburgh stogie on the steps of the church before preaching to a rather disapproving congregation. Long after relinquishing ecclesiastical duties he became first editor of *Wallaces' Farmer* (note the plural apostrophe), originally founded for him as a sort of occupational therapy, which shortly turned into a family gold mine. His words were reverenced throughout the Midwest. One weekly feature which he compiled, "Uncle Henry's Sabbath School Lesson," was a circulation builder incomparable in the history of farm journalism, and when the patriarch died, it was found that he had bequeathed a 22-year advance supply of articles.

THAT left his son, stocky Henry C. Wallace, "a red-headed gamecock of a man," as Pinchot described him, to come to Washington as Secretary of Agriculture under Harding, and later under Coolidge. He was a good Republican, or thought he was, till a gathering controversy developed with his colleague, the high-collared Secretary of Commerce, Herbert Hoover, over what should be done about farm surpluses. Wallace felt you couldn't let the farmers starve; Hoover felt that time, natural forces and maybe some minor loans would meet the problem. The Midwest lost its aggressive cabinet spokesman when he died suddenly, in office, in 1924.

A generous half of the book deals with Henry A. Wallace, third of the line. The author has a natural feel for intimate, genial touches. The inside glimpses of Washington do for the farm side of the Roosevelt Administration something of what Frances Perkins' *The Roosevelt I Knew* did for the labor and social side. The story carries us through such issues as Subsistence Homestead colonies, Rural Resettlement, the AAA, the Little Pigs, down to later matters, the "quart-of-milk" controversy, and the grand bust-up with Jesse Jones. The book is written without rancor. The author, starting back in 1940, had an arrangement with Wallace and others to submit chapters for factual criticism only. The end is rather sketchy, and we imagine a reader would find it difficult to figure out from the excerpts of the Madison Square Garden speech why Secretary Byrnes got so hopping mad over in Paris.

Although the narrative is sympathetic, it is written with detachment and the reader comes to understand that mixture of high respect and occasional exasperation with which Franklin Roosevelt—who played politics by ear—regarded his non-smoking, teetotaler Vice President, who sometimes seemed politically tone-deaf. Wallace was constantly called impractical. And yet this "dreamer" had begged Congress to stockpile rubber, quartz crystals and quinine before Pearl Harbor, while hard-headed bankers like Jesse Jones could see little need.

Obviously Wallace is no politician. At the political crisis of his life, on the floor of the 1944 Chicago convention with the vice-presidential renomination at stake, he refused to conciliate the Southern Bourbons and instead boldly demanded an end of the poll tax. And yet grand old George Norris wrote, "It was an exhibition of statesmanship and courage that I have never seen surpassed."

Putting down the book, one finds oneself still asking: "What kind of man is this Wallace, third of the line?" It is hard to answer. He lays a course of courage and principle that can be downright disconcerting, as it was to Washington for a dozen years. Yet it is not unthinkable that he may supply a voice to the country, as his grandfather did to Iowa, that will be heeded at moments of doubt and uncertainty in days ahead. Russell Lord presents the facts about Henry Wallace; the reader can make of them what he will.

RICHARD LEE STROUT

Fiction Chronicle

JEAN STAFFORD'S *The Mountain Lion* (Harcourt, Brace, $2.75) is the story of the peculiarly close relationship between ten-year-old Molly and her younger brother Ralph. The latter's instincts are to preserve his individuality—"he was afraid that if he shared it with her the feeling would leave him"—but Molly is inexorable and, besides, is his only protection against the "grown-up" oppression of his mother and older sisters. In the freedom of an uncle's ranch, however, she is less necessary to him, and "while he still loved her he wished oftener and oftener that she did not exist." Molly, growing awkward and homely, and isolated in her precocity, becomes steadily more absorbing until she drives Ralph to an inevitable and tragic defiance. This theme is subtly developed, without the slightest adventitious whimsy, in a thoroughly adult book about children. Contrasted with the children's personal life is the moribund gentility of a Southern California town where they live during the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hoover era. Their mother is a minor masterpiece of ironic characterization, typical of that "refinement" which thought it proper to call an automobile "the machine." Finally, Miss Stafford's use of the language is integral to her story and intentions to a degree rare in a time when most fiction is written in a slapdash approximate jargon and sluggish monologue.

GIACOMO ORSO, the hero of Maurice Samuel's *The Web of Lucifer* (Knopf, $3), is an ingenuous young man who becomes involved in the fortunes of Cesare Borgia by mistaking him for an expected leader who will unify Italy. So thorough is his delusion and so great his infatuation that he manages to atrophy the moral sense which would condemn Borgia's brutality and criticize the expediencies of Machiavelli. The book is a skillful illustration of the delusions and ambiguities involved in the exercise of power and the admiration for it, though Giacomo is allowed to see his error in time and enjoy a successful love and a "happy ending."

"END AS A MAN," by Calder Willingham (Vanguard, $2.75), is a caustic study of the American scene as represented by a Southern military academy. The effect is largely achieved by an exact transcription of the cadets' talk, which reads with the imbecile monotony of the scrawl on lavatory walls. It is ironically inevitable that the strict military organization and the decayed society of the "Old South" should combine to promote and shelter an extensive corruption based on idleness, hypocrisy and a fake chivalric privilege. It is also inevitable that these make-believe adult worlds should produce a viciousness which is peculiar to children and morons: sadism and perfervid sexuality. Willingham makes his point, but the shock effect is weakened by repetition and verbosity. The book could have been incalculably improved, like so many current novels, by the simplest editorial deletion.

ANOTHER tale situated in the academic milieu is John Kelly's *All Souls' Night* (Harcourt, Brace, $3), but here the brutal banter of Willingham's cadets is replaced by easy and extensive quotation from the classics and knowing talk about how to draw the cork from a wine bottle. Reuniting in the university town of Port Royal are Greg, the "golden boy of their time," his intimate friend, the "brilliant" Pearse, and Ida, the apex of the triangle. Greg and Pearse feverishly occupy themselves in solving (though strictly conversationally) the problems of life, while Ida is left to languish in her eternal femininity—"I want to smell his sweat." But they talk themselves out and life catches up with them in a climax which most readers will find unconvincing, even admitting the trio to be a very special case. JOHN FARRELLY

B. Traven's Identity

LIFE magazine's William W. Johnson recently sought to unravel the secret of "B. Traven," powerful chronicler of the Mexican people's struggle for liberty and author of *The Death Ship, The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, The Bridge in the Jungle* and other novels and travel books (see *Life*, March 10). His effort was not too successful. He even seems to give credence to the story that Traven was born in the US Middle West. But there can be no doubt that his works were originally written in German. Here is additional information that Johnson might have included.

In pre-Hitler Germany Traven was admired not only as a novelist but also as a courageous political writer. He is known to have turned down tempting offers from chauvinistic German film companies. I still remember the joy I felt when one Christmas Day the "Stranger" sent me a beautiful Indian rug in appreciation of a review of one of his books I had done. His rare letters would be filled with political observations, but neither name nor address appeared on any of his messages.

An admirer of Traven's I recently talked with in Mexico City told me that the author is now living in a small jungle village. He once appeared under an assumed name at a writers' congress in the Mexican capital, but vanished again immediately. Who, then, is B. Traven?

Years ago, Karl Doescher, the editor of a Berlin newspaper, received a short story he liked very much, but the writer's name was illegible. It looked very much like the German word *Traum*—dream—but as this was an unfamiliar surname, he figured out something like Traven. He added the initial "B" gratuitously. The writer B. Traven was born.

Had the editor rearranged the letters of the word *Traum* a little, like an anagram, he might have discovered the name "Marut." There was a man called Marut—though this was not his real name either—who had published an unusual periodical in Munich under the title *Der Ziegelbrenner* (the Brickmaker). It appeared at irregular intervals and was full of violent polemics against militarism and reactionary trends in German politics.

This Marut was a revolutionary who was arrested in May, 1919, when the Bavarian Socialist Republic was overthrown amid violence and bloodshed. He was condemned to be shot. But on the way to the execution grounds he managed to jump off the prisoners' truck and escape. He was never seen again. Subscribers to the *Ziegelbrenner* continued to receive several issues, mailed sometimes from different German cities, sometimes from Switzerland and Paris.

Leopold Spitzegger, an Austrian journalist now working on a biography of the German writer Erich Muehsam, who was tortured to death in a Nazi concentration camp, recently supplied the missing link about Marut in the Vienna magazine *Plan*. Muehsam tried to locate Marut, and when the books by B. Traven appeared he became convinced, after comparing the style with Marut's writings in the old *Ziegelbrenner*, that Marut and Traven were one and the same.

It also seems that "Marut" was the original pseudonym of a writer named Maurhut. Thus closes the circle which begins with Maurhut, goes on to Marut and ends with the name of Traven which was created by an editor's arbitrary fancy. MANFRED GEORGE

Manfred George is the editor of the German-language weekly Aufbau *in New York City.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

United Nations News

International Grievances

THERE is a block-long corridor as wide as a city street running in front of the Council chambers at Lake Success. Last week it was a seething, smoky assembly room where 2,000 angry employees called their Secretary-General to task on per-diem allowances, salaries, dismissals, housing and cafeteria food. It was the first time the Secretariat had collectively voiced its feeling of basic insecurity. The staff was almost unanimous in its desire to pin the blame on somebody, and the only somebody around was Trygve Lie.

As the protest meeting opened, one staff member set the tone by remarking to the crowd in general: "Don't worry, after this is all over only half of you will be here—there'll be lots of room."

Except for the gastronomical problem, the grievances were due more to the actions of the 55 member nations than to anything Lie had done. Last December the General Assembly tied the Secretary-General's hands by lopping $500,000 from his proposed $1.5 million fund to be used for staff expansion. The Assembly further directed that the staff be kept down to about 2,500, recruited on a geographical basis (there were 2,667, mostly Americans, at the end of January). A sum of $920,000 for cost-of-living allowances and salary increases in the lower wage brackets had been approved, but of this only $250,000—the only mobile fund at Lie's disposal—was left.

Clearly the staff was ready for blood and no argument changed that attitude. When Lie stood up and announced to the silent group that he had fought a one-man battle for an increased budget, he was greeted by stony faces. "I'm not a tyrant," he pleaded desperately. "I'm not a man to force decisions where I can negotiate." One by one he paraded the exonerating arguments: he had urged that the General Assembly approve an administrative tribunal (a grievance board), but the delegates had turned him down because they feared it might develop into a trade union; he had asked for new headquarters and free transportation for employees, both of which were refused for economy reasons. Finally he told his sullen coworkers: "I am not your employer. I am an international employee, as you are. If you ask me to take or steal money, it is against the loyalty and ideals of the San Francisco Charter and you will never succeed."

His audience either kept quiet or murmured in an undertone that this was beside the point. When a staff member moved a vote of confidence for the Secretary-General, the staff came through with a neutral blend of "yes" and "no." Christopher Cross, spokesman for the Department of Public Information, came closest to the crux of the situation when he questioned whether a period of crisis was the best time to cut personnel and activities; he added that "if this monster budget is the cause, then the 55 member nations should be notified." After two hours of debate, the staff accepted that proposal.

THE underlying reason for the flare-up, though not the reason stressed, is the surprisingly few permanent contracts now in effect, except in the higher income brackets. The inevitable inefficiency of a new organization has been largely responsible for the festering insecurity of present staff members.

A British woman, an employee who came here last summer, stated her case this way. "I have two small children to support. I have rented a house close to Great Neck but I must employ a nurse to take care of the children while I'm at work. My per-diem allowance and my present salary [she is in the $5,000 bracket] are enough to cover things, but without a permanent contract I am in constant fear of being fired tomorrow and left in a strange country with few resources and no possibility of a job."

An employee from France pointed out that, although he and his wife had arrived here last November, they were still unable to find permanent housing and were forced to pay $10 a day for a hotel room. "You see our per-diem is really necessary because we have no alternative. And when, in addition, we have no security, I become discouraged—I left a position of some importance in Paris because I believed in the UN. I do not think the Secretary-General is to blame, but it is still a situation."

The Americans, first to be affected by dismissals, were conscious of the fact that they are slated to go. There is little bitterness, but there is a general feeling that they should have enough advance notice so they can make plans. A veteran, from New York City, admitted that he had no complaints about salary, but pointed out that "I want to get settled in a career. I thought I was. If I'm not, I'd like to know about it now."

ACTUALLY the grievances themselves are not so important as the general attitude they have created. It is unfortunate that on March 15, per-diem allowances dropped from $7 for married persons and $5 for single persons, to $2.50 and $2, with an additional 50 cents for each child. It is unfortunate that 1,500 employees earn less than $3,000 a year. The housing shortage is a crucial, but hardly a unique problem. The fact still remains that tax-free wages of from $40 to $62 a week are not below those paid by private industry. Even the reduced per-diem is not too unfair.

The fundamental grievance—insecurity—is what seems to be bothering most of the Secretariat. Lie's handling of the situation was honest and frank; he told them that when Byron Price comes in as Assistant Secretary-General in charge of Administrative and Financial Affairs, it will be up to him to tackle the staff problem. What they and Lie hesitate to acknowledge is that the United Nations, by its national-federation structure, is an organization for passing the buck. The General Assembly will continue to meet once a year to approve a budget. Between sessions the Secretary-General will continue to abide by the Assembly decision. The employees can take it or leave it, though most cannot afford to resign. They need to establish a strong independent union with power to bargain rather than plead—even if it has to bargain with 55 nations. JANE BEDELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Farm

Reciprocal Trade

IN MY first college Economics course the professor asked this question: "If someone offered you a knife for 50 cents and you bought it, who would benefit?"

This question puzzled the students. Some believed that the person selling the knife would profit because he undoubtedly had paid less for it. Others were undecided. The old professor then said to me, "Well, why should you buy a knife for 50 cents?"

"Because it was worth more to me than 50 cents, I guess."

Turning to another student, the professor asked, "Suppose you wanted to sell Angus a knife for 50 cents, why would you want to sell?"

"Because I could make a profit on it," said the student.

"Well, then," said the professor, "in that case, wouldn't both sides profit?"

To millions of people this simple lesson in economics is easy to understand. But orthodox Republicans have never been able to grasp it. They believe that in a trade someone always gets skinned. Listening to Senator Butler (Nebr.) and others in the US Congress you get the impression that every time we make a trade or buy any goods abroad we are selling home agriculture and industry down the river.

Scarcely a day passes in the House and Senate but that there is a tirade against the reciprocal-trade program. The attacks have been especially virulent the last month because of the State Department's announced intention to negotiate further tariff reductions.

American agriculture is the fair-haired damsel in distress that is being chased by these exceedingly clever and unscrupulous foreigners, and only the Republican Party can rescue her. This will be done by erecting the traditional high wall that kept out cheap foreign goods. None of these cheap products, say the Republicans, will get over our high Smoot-Hawley wall once we repair the damage that has been done.

And now to make bad matters worse, the Administration is planning to knock more holes in our tariff wall. The evil State Department is planning to negotiate tariff reductions with 18 foreign countries in Geneva, where our representatives will be at the complete mercy of foreigners. Senator Butler is worried; businessmen have been hitting the trail to Washington to protest, and a few misguided farm and ranch interests have been yelling their heads off about how reciprocal-trade agreements are threatening their economic lives.

THE truth is that the threat to American agriculture is a myth invented by selfish or short-sighted groups. The record shows that American exports went up in every country where a reciprocal-trade agreement was signed. During the first five years of Cordell Hull's program (1934-38), exports to countries signing agreements went up 63 percent and in non-agreement countries, only 32 percent.

Farm commodities in general have little foreign competition. An example is the dairy industry which the Republicans claimed was hurt by the reciprocal-trade program. Actually, home industry normally supplies 99 percent of the US dairy market. Although the Canadian trade pact had lowered the duty on cheese from seven to five cents per pound, a third less was imported in 1938 than in 1929. In exchange for these and other trifling concessions to Canada, US exports increased by $100 million during the first year of the US-Canada agreements.

Somewhat the same situation holds true for beef and pork. Home industry supplies 95 to 98 percent of our beef. Most of the imported beef is canned and largely non-competitive. One country, Canada, obtained a concession on pork, but concessions for exported US pork products were obtained in 17 of 19 trade-agreement countries.

There has been a great outcry about corn and pork imports. Here are the facts: Although it was necessary during the great drought of 1934-37 to import large amounts of corn to feed hogs, and although corn and pork were subject to severe foreign competition, trade pacts saved much of the farmers' export market. In 1938, 91 percent of the total pork exports were sold to trade-agreement countries, but in 1931—before the reciprocal-trade pacts—exports to these countries accounted for only 71 percent of the total. In other words, by means of trade agreements the US managed to hold on to most of its pork export market, but in non-agreement countries almost all of it was lost.

There were also complaints from the fruit industry. It was claimed that imports of grapefruit from Cuba threatened the economic life of Florida growers. Actually only 37,000 boxes of grapefruit were brought in from Cuba in 1938, and only at a time when Florida grapefruit were not in season. In that year, US production of grapefruit was 44 million boxes. Cuba was the only country getting a concession. But the US got a 50-percent duty reduction on US grapefruit in France and Finland, and in several other countries the duty on US grapefruit was removed altogether. The result was that France and other agreement countries bought large quantities of American grapefruit.

THE fruit industry as a whole benefited from the reciprocal-trade program. Ninety-eight percent (if you exclude bananas) of the home market is supplied by US producers. Exports of fruit to agreement countries increased more than 50 percent from 1933 to 1938 and in non-agreement countries it increased by only 15 percent.

During prewar years wheat and cotton, threatened by severe foreign competition, had tough sledding, but reciprocal-trade agreements saved much of the foreign market that otherwise would have been lost. In 1938, of $101 million wheat and flour exports, $64 million went to agreement countries and, in 1939, countries having trade agreements with us increased their US cotton imports by 70 percent as compared to 1934. Exports of cotton to non-agreement countries in 1939 were less than half of what they had been in 1934.

Reciprocal-trade agreements have not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hurt the American farmer; they have helped him. His products have not been subject to competition from foreign agriculture. Small amounts of agricultural imports do not bring price declines. Agricultural imports are not made during periods of low prices, but during periods of prosperity when consumption is high.

American farmers should concentrate on the production of commodities they can produce efficiently. They shouldn't try to raise bananas in a hothouse; they shouldn't raise wool unless, like the Australians, they are willing to develop good strains of wool-producing sheep. According to *Fortune* magazine, the wool tariff and wool subsidies cost the American consumer in the neighborhood of $1 billion a year.

HIGH tariffs not only cost the American consumer huge sums but deprive American farmers of foreign customers. If we do not buy Australian and British wool and woolens it is hard to see how they can buy our products. High tariffs also keep prices high on things the farmer buys and take away farmers' customers at home.

In spite of the fact that the Republicans have always (with one exception) voted overwhelmingly against enactment of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, their 1944 platform endorsed it provided Congress had the authority to approve each agreement. The attitude of Vandenberg (Mich.), Millikin (Colo.) and others indicate that some Republican leaders know you can't have political peace without an economic peace.

Because agricultural production in the US has increased by 30 percent and because other countries are getting back into production and will soon be threatening the farmers' export market again, it is more necessary than ever before that the reciprocal-trade program be pushed full steam ahead. In spite of the sound and fury of Republicans representing local interests, many in the Republican Party realize that to oppose reciprocal-trade agreements would be not only bad statesmanship but bad politics. As Republican Senator Tobey (N. H.) said: "My party will be committing political suicide if it guts trade agreements." ANGUS MCDONALD

Labor

Inside the CIO

THE fierce CIO internal quarrel over communism reached a temporary climax last week at the executive board meeting in Washington. When the shooting was over, two actions showed that Philip Murray was still walking a tightrope between the CIO's right and left wings, still carefully maneuvering to hold his collection of able prima donnas together until time might cure the organization's conflicts.

Murray and the executive board set up a three-man committee to investigate the fight within the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Reid Robinson's resignation as MMS president in favor of Maurice E. Travis, vice-president, did not quiet a revolt of "rightist" locals charging that Travis was merely Robinson's lengthened shadow. The CIO investigating committee consisted of three "rightists," who are nevertheless generally trusted by all CIO groups.

Murray also carried through the board his personal proposal to settle conflicts about the Americans for Democratic Action and the Progressive Citizens of America by pulling CIO leaders out of active participation in either. Murray's idea is that the CIO has plenty of problems of its own, and that there's enough room for political work within its PAC.

But the war over communism is sure to continue, and the "leftists," recently on the defensive, are trying to organize a counter-offensive.

The leaders of the groups. – The war is being waged with an extraordinary degree of sideline publicity—and contending leaders are well known.

In the anti-Communist camp are James B. Carey, CIO secretary, who was thrown out of the presidency of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers several years ago by the militant Left; John Brophy, director of State and City Industrial Union Councils; Allan S. Haywood, director of Organization; and such international-union leaders as Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers, Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers' Union, John Green of the Marine and Shipbuilding Workers and, lately, Joseph Curran of the Maritime Union.

The accused "Left" includes Lee Pressman, CIO and United Steelworkers counsel; Len de Caux, CIO publicity chief; Harry Bridges, president of the Longshoremen; Julius Emspak, secretary of the United Electrical Workers; Grant Oakes, president of the Farm Equipment Workers; Robinson and Travis of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Michael Quill of the Transport Workers; Ben Gold of the Fur Workers. Gold is the only avowed Communist; Emspak denied Communist Party membership under oath two weeks ago before the House Labor Committee.

The arguments. – It is not easy for the outsider to understand the intellectual motivations of the CIO Right and Left if he discards the simple explanation that Communists are, per se, a revolutionary "menace."

Most of the Right, to its credit, does not advocate expelling Communists from union membership or "outlawing" the Communist Party, though some rightist unions prohibit Communist officership. The rightists have three basic arguments. They are fed up with seeing the CIO unions and councils used as a megaphone for Soviet foreign policy. They are tired of being denounced and harried by "leftists" when they disagree with pro-Soviet pronouncements and are determined that they will no longer be out-maneuvered and outfought by "militant minorities." They believe, quite earnestly, that an indigenous American program of basic economic reform is impossible so long as the Communists are powerful in CIO leadership.

"The Communists have not been for years a revolutionary group," one CIO leader says, "but are interested solely in serving as Soviet apologists." The rightists, he insists, are not defenders of the status quo. On the contrary, they believe the American economy must be re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

formed, that labor must participate in planning production levels, price policies, rates of technological change.

When Harry Bridges, during the war, opposed and undercut the efforts of Montgomery Ward strikers to get union security from Sewell L. Avery, the anti-Communists in the CIO were furious. They argue that Communists don't really want American economic change but block every effort of union social theorists, such as Reuther, to help develop American reform plans.

The anti-Communists say they recognize that "Red-baiting" is not an affirmative program, but they think the CIO cannot make political progress until the Communists are "isolated" and removed from positions of power.

The "Left," which includes many who are definitely not Communists, distrusts any movement which is negative even in its first approach. The anti-Communists, they say, are playing the reactionaries' game, and are helping distract the CIO membership from the real menace to democracy.

Reid Robinson's statement, as he resigned from the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers presidency, charged that within the CIO there were forces "determined to eliminate all with whom they disagree or utterly destroy the CIO in the attempt." International spokesmen of the United Electrical Workers, in explaining disciplinary action against a Bridgeport (Connecticut) local, charge that the Bridgeport leaders expelled local members for political reasons in violation of the international constitution.

IN THE battle between the CIO Right and Left, time is probably on the anti-Communists' side. But sometimes rank-and-file workers, as in the Allis-Chalmers strike, suffer the chief burden. And some non-Communists are worried lest the drive get so bitter that it washes out of leadership not only party members but also those whose "sin" consists of being less violently anti-Red.

So far as Philip Murray is concerned, he is determined that five million CIO members shall not lose their unions as a result of the bitter internal war and he appears perfectly willing for outsiders to call him "weak" for sticking to this sound idea. WILLARD SHELTON

Music

Operatic Production Line

THIS WEEK the Metropolitan Opera takes to the road. Between now and May 19, 14 cities from Boston to San Antonio will have a brief, concentrated look at some of the operas and many of the singers they have been hearing on Saturday-afternoon broadcasts this season. In Minneapolis and Memphis and Bloomington, Indiana, and all the rest of the cities in the 7,440-mile itinerary, throngs of opera devotees are waiting to fill the big auditoriums, and, if they run true to form, to show a degree of enthusiasm beyond anything the company encounters at home.

Each spring the Metropolitan becomes a little more strongly rooted as a national institution. In May, 1948, it hopes at last to reach the Pacific Coast, making a triumphal entry into Los Angeles, and perhaps also San Francisco. If this plan is realized, the Metropolitan will have won its way into every one of the largest cities except Detroit.

At first glance this policy of nation-wide expansion seems to possess a good many advantages. Productions prepared for the New York season can be transplanted intact to other cities, so that Houston can see and hear exactly the same thing New York does. Well known singers and conductors, a permanent orchestra and chorus and an experienced group of technical experts are on hand to perform their duties with the same assured routine on the road as at the Metropolitan Opera House. And, above all else, the widely exploited name of the Metropolitan guarantees the allegiance of a public conditioned to believe that the most extensively advertised products are automatically the best.

The Metropolitan's cross-country extension of its dominion is not, however, primarily a selfless undertaking. The company does not travel all the way to Dallas entirely out of an idealistic desire to share its beautiful wares with the public of north Texas. It goes there because there is money to be gotten out of Dallas, just as the Shuberts send "The Student Prince" there, not to promote a more general appreciation of Romberg's melodies, but to make a profit. It is no more wicked for the Metropolitan to tap the prosperity of Dallas than for the Shuberts, but why glamorize its motives?

The problem of financing a major opera company is staggering nowadays. The management of the Metropolitan is hag-ridden by the necessity of balancing the budget. In a house that cannot accommodate more than 3,500 patrons, most of whom would balk at a ticket scale running above the current $7.50 top, the New York season does not provide a comfortable margin of financial safety. On tour the Metropolitan can present repeatedly productions already rehearsed, thus avoiding the rehearsal costs which are a constant running expense in New York. Despite traveling expenses, the short sell-out engagements on tour, in halls many of which are larger than the Metropolitan Opera House, bring in the extra money needed to keep the company afloat.

NOBODY wants to see the Metropolitan collapse, and it is impossible not to admire the astuteness of a management which continues to stave off that calamity as basic operating costs continue to mount. But it is hardly judicial to assess the value of the tour in terms of the Metropolitan's welfare alone. Along with a symphony orchestra, a civic opera company is the source of the greatest musical satisfaction to any city which can support one. How will the ubiquitous domination of a powerful outside institution affect independent, local operatic endeavors?

From all present indications, the Metropolitan does not care a fig what happens to local and regional operatic undertakings in the places it visits. Instead of stimulating independent companies as a proving-ground for talent it may later want to use, the Metropolitan seems bent on making such enterprises difficult, if not impossible. The plan to visit California next year, for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

instance, constitutes a life-and-death challenge to the San Francisco Opera Company, which has presented superlative opera in its home city and in Los Angeles for 25 years. Since California already possesses this thoroughly satisfactory organization, it is hard to see any justification except self-interest for the Metropolitan's competitive bid for operatic patronage in that state.

In Chicago, where the citizens ought to take vigorous steps to reform their inglorious opera company, the promise of a Metropolitan season each spring siphons off interest which might otherwise be directed toward making the Chicago Opera a great institution once again. In St. Louis, the Metropolitan has supplanted a creditable local company which was allowed to collapse with such finality that it handed its settings over to the New York City Opera Company.

WITHIN the last generation cities like Cleveland and Dallas and Rochester have organized symphony orchestras, all of which have grown into notable artistic assets. Why should not every city of this size also have its own opera company? The present demand for opera in all except the biggest cities, it is true, would probably not support many more performances each year than the Metropolitan now compresses into its visit.

But a locally directed institution could space its productions through the season, and also select operas specifically suited to the taste and preference of the community. A locally directed institution could schedule better timed seasons than the Metropolitan can. It could provide chances for gifted singers from the region to learn their craft, and it could offer professional opportunities for conductors, scene and costume designers, stage directors and technicians. If the local symphony orchestra played for the opera, as it does in San Francisco, the instrumentalists would be given fuller employment. And each city would experience the mingled joy and headache of supporting a challenging creative effort. Unless this happens, all America is likely to become a single long operatic production line, fed from New York.

CECIL SMITH

Theatre

Not Experimental

"PARLOR STORY" (Biltmore Theatre), by William McCleery, is a comedy with much to be said for it. It has human and convincing dialogue. The speech rhythm is unusually easy and alive and contributes no little to the pleasant sense of wit and literate taste that pervades the play. The scene is the living room of a professor's house in a university town somewhere west of the Missouri River.

The plot of "Parlor Story" is the one thing that works against it. The story itself is fair enough: the professor is sought by a newspaper tycoon who offers him $20,000 a year to desert the academic life. The Governor comes into the situation and there is a chance that the professor may be made president of the university. That is what finally happens, but not before there is a vast tangle of opposing forces, a threatened persecution of a student editor who is the lover of one of the professor's daughters, and so forth and so on. In some strange way the manner in which the plot is handled seems to block the natural flow of the comedy. You think of the people and the play most agreeably, but even afterwards the thought of the plot leaves you somewhat restive. "Parlor Story" is a very good evening in the theatre nevertheless.

The company all play well, and Bretaigne Windust has directed the play admirably, especially the young people, who have a good deal to say for themselves about their elders and about life generally. He has managed to give them rein without any of the tiresome, self-conscious forwardness that spoils so many of the younger roles on our stage. Walter Abel as the professor plays with warmth, good taste and an engaging sense of humor. Richard Noyes as Eddie West, the student editor and lover of the professor's daughter, gives a performance full of variety and feeling.

THE Experimental Theatre, Inc., would have a hard time trying to convince anyone that its name means anything, if we go by the latest play at the Princess. "As We Forgive Our Debtors," by Tillman Breiseth, is in no way experimental so far as I can make out. It is a comedy of folkways, very much like dozens of comedies that we have all seen.

An old woman dies, leaving her farm, some money hidden in the stove, a brooch, some parlor furniture and so on. The family gathers for the funeral and the reading of the will. The usual rivalries appear, a flirtation gets under way between one of the husbands and his wife's younger sister. This provides the last curtain; the young woman puts on the pink slip he has given her and steals into his bedroom. That might be thought a somewhat bolder, or broader, ending than most comedies would employ in the commercial theatre, but not necessarily so; at any rate you could not call it experimental.

"As We Forgive Our Debtors" is less expert than the usual comedy. Otherwise we may say that it has a good many funny motivations and provides the audience with a good many laughs. The scenes where the pastor is determined to solace the mourners, who are more interested in their inheritance and competition than in their grief, are excellent comedy, partly because Paul Ford portrays the pastor with such sly wit and smooth unction.

Jose Ferrer has directed the play very professionally, with the emphasis on keeping it moving rather than on details of character drawing. Even at that the scenes drag in many places; there seems to be endless talking, not always very alive. The company in general does well enough, though some of the playing is too hard-driven and monotonous.

One of Carl Kent's settings, the parlor, was a fine success and got a round of applause.

There must be a great many plays that, far more than this, deserve to be given the chance to experiment; not first-rate plays necessarily, but at least those that open up fresh and courageous vistas.

STARK YOUNG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Movies

Murder, She Says

A COUPLE of seasons ago there was a melodrama on Broadway that got awful reviews but ran for a year and a half and was fun to watch. At every performance the audience would rise as one man to warn the heroine of her husband's villainy. This was "The Two Mrs. Carrolls," with Elisabeth Bergner, and there was no dawdling. This play, or a facsimile of it that is more reasonable than exciting, has just been released by Warner Brothers, with Humphrey Bogart and Barbara Stanwyck in the leading roles.

I thought that everybody tried even harder than usual, but that they couldn't get sufficiently interested in the project. It couldn't have been just because the actors and the production staff knew how the story was going to come out, as I did, and couldn't wait to get on with it. I assure you that actors who can read always know the script beforehand, incredible as this must sometimes seem, and, I've heard, those who can't read manage to have it explained to them in detail.

I'm sorry to say that, although "The Two Mrs. Carrolls" is well mounted, in parts well staged and adroitly played, it is dull. You won't be bored silly—just bored. Bogart, a painter, is still very tough and beats up several canvases. The proceedings also include an astonishing little girl, played by Ann Curtis, who speaks precise, purist English and displays a devilish poise the movies rarely admit, and a servant (Anita Bolster), who, in the strange way that has become not only traditional but endearing, is exceedingly rude to everyone. The murder is good. Stanwyck is quietly apt in the emotional scenes, when she knows she's in for it, but the movie drags so that the character she plays has no force.

HAVING seen more inadequate movies lately than I deserve, I report in a spirit of petulance that "Blaze of Noon" is about four air-mail-carrying brothers, big boys, some of whom are in love with the same girl. William Holden and Sonny Tufts head the company and Anne Baxter plays the girl. She did an exquisitely nasty job in a fine movie called "Guest in the House" once, and probably due to the cost of living, is willing to lend herself to this story, in which she makes coffee and waits for the planes to get in. Howard daSilva, who would find it difficult to be anything but very effective (among his great performances are the original Judd in "Oklahoma" and the bartender in "The Lost Weekend"), paces back and paces forth as the owner of the air line, and also waits for the planes to come in. Two of the brothers don't get back, but the mail arrives. I guess there's nothing like a cheap movie to tarnish the memory of the men who really flew their lethal crates on the early mail routes.

THERE was a time when William Bendix, because he had ability and the right face, was to succeed the late Louis Wolheim, but apparently not much came of that. Bendix's bare, gigantic face continues to be photographed, but since "The Hairy Ape" no special effort has been made to find him the proper stories. He appears as the stunt-flying friend of those brothers in "Blaze of Noon" and also as an anxious waiter, the protector of Deanna Durbin, in a dreadful little picture called "I'll Be Yours."

Tom Drake, a likable boy, plays opposite Durbin, and Adolphe Menjou, may heaven forgive him, wearily tries to support them both. Deanna Durbin, is a kind of perennial Camp Fire Girl on whom no criticism could fall, except that she should trill on records and not try to act. In this movie, to absolutely nobody's surprise, Deanna comes to the Big City, wants to help a poor young lawyer, and does so. She sings a few songs, escapes the toils of the rich industrialist who less than half-heartedly is bent on her destruction, floats around in the craziest canoe sequence ever devised by beast, and promptly, but not too soon for me, has the town by the ears. To this movie should go only people who, like myself, are specifically paid to attend.

ONE of the biggest films I've ever seen is the Russian tour de force, "Ivan the Terrible." This is, literally, an epic, a spectacle, part of a trilogy, and what is known, in reviewing parlance, as an "experience." It is a truly interesting, elementary powerful work by a respected artist, Sergei Eisenstein, who made "Potemkin," "Alexander Nevsky," "Thunder Over Mexico" and other films. He is considered in Ameri-

WORTH SEEING

THE SEA OF GRASS—Spencer Tracy and Katharine Hepburn, a little too self-consciously noble, in a prairie saga you might like very much.

BOOMERANG—Dana Andrews and Jane Wyatt in a good story made like a documentary.

PURSUED—Teresa Wright, Robert Mitchum and Judith Anderson in a beautiful Western.

CHILDREN OF PARADISE (*Les Enfants du Paradis;* French film, English titles)—The movie medium used intelligently and with feling.

THE BEST YEARS OF OUR LIVES—Excellent cast headed by Fredric March. Veterans' problems. Good entertainment.

HENRY THE FIFTH AND CAESAR AND CLEOPATRA—Superb English films. Don't miss them.

STAIRWAY TO HEAVEN—David Niven and Roger Livesey in a charming, elaborate fantasy.

SAVE YOUR EYES

SONG OF THE SOUTH—Disney gone offensive in a big way.

CALIFORNIA—Ray Milland, Barbara Stanwyck and Barry Fitzgerald in a movie that's so bad the audience makes strange noises.

THE WICKED LADY—Margaret Lockwood's figure and nothing else recommends this.

THE SHOCKING MISS PILGRIM—Old unpublished Gershwin songs. Betty Grable and Dick Haymes aren't bad, but it's nothing to plow through the snow to see.

BEDELIA—Another Margaret Lockwood and, unhappily enough, as bad as "The Wicked Lady."

SINBAD THE SAILOR—Douglas Fairbanks Jr. and Maureen O'Hara. It's silly, expensive stuff and has little to do with "The Arabian Nights."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ca, in Europe, and in the East, one of the greatest motion-picture talents in the world. He has here, in "Ivan the Terrible," an impressive pageant, laid in the sixteenth century, done in a deliberately contrived, basic silent-movie technique. Eisenstein, with the boldest strokes imaginable, using superb photography and purely stylized acting, shows an enormously whitewashed, arbitrarily incomplete, historically only partially accurate, portrait of a ruler, a great man. The picture is full of memorable faces and awesome grimaces.

WHY Eisenstein chose to have his many good characterizations ruined by demoded, primitive acting that combines the weighty drama of early opera with the first rushes of "The Great Train Robbery" is hard to understand. The Czarina is poisoned by the wicked Boyarina in what would have been plain sight of the Czar and his trusted spy, had they paid any attention. It is improbable that in one of the most subtly corrupt courts ever delineated, courtiers so obviously showed their feelings and intentions. That Eisenstein should have permitted such rolling of eyes and heaving of shoulders is depressing, if not entirely unexpected.

Ivan, the Moscow czar, beset by the menacing machinations of the princes, the Boyars, and by wars and conflict and trade restrictions, determines to unify Russia. His followers are ordinary tradesmen, artisans and soldiers. It is, I believe, a fact that Ivan had destroyed great numbers of the nobility, and that he confiscated their estates to reward the people who were faithful to him and his cause. Even if Ivan is not shown as terrible, but merciful and good and weak to the point of crawling around on the floor in the scene when he is dying, and although there are many inexplicable lapses in continuity, the picture has serious art in it, magnificent architecture and costumes, and battles and pompous ceremonies of real splendor. Prokofiev composed the score, which is as important to the film as the heroic, massive, elaborate scenes that make the story. Ivan IV is played by Nikolai Cherkassov, who in bearing, appearance and voice is admirably suited to the part.

SHIRLEY O'HARA

Correspondence

[In the first 24 hours after his radio address on March 13, Henry Wallace received more than 100 letters, postcards and telegrams from listeners all over the country. Of these, one called him a Communist; all the rest applauded his stand and pledged their support. We print here excerpts from the messages. – THE EDITORS]

You have the heartfelt appreciation of the people for your courageous stand. Your leadership can assist in making their voice heard in a Congress deaf to their desires. – *Patricia Mullison, Detroit, Michigan.*

Congratulations on your sane and brilliant rebuttal of Truman's pro-war policy. – *Malvina Simon, Brooklyn, New York.*

You are right. Continue broadcasting and enlighten America. – *Abe Landow, Passaic, New Jersey.*

We congratulate you in the name of 200,000 Americans. You have reaffirmed Roosevelt's world peace policy. – *Executive Committee, American Slav Congress of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh.*

You have given the American people food for thought and action. – *Alexander Rosen, Brooklyn, New York.*

Congratulations on your exposé of Truman. – *Dwight Spencer, Denver, Colorado.*

Congratulations on your radio speech. – *Rachel Hiller, Mary E. Bulkley, Carmel, Californa.*

You spoke as the authentic voice of American progress—keep up the good fight! – *Lee Lorch, New York City.*

Congratulations. Your stand is very encouraging. – *Bernard Valdez, Taos, New Mexico.*

Knowing that you will continue to carry forward President Roosevelt's good-will program is an inspiration. We salute you. – *Irving and Estelle Kessler, Brooklyn, New York.*

Your radio address deserves applause from the people of the world. – *A. J. Bernstein, New York City.*

We listened to you and we support your views. – *Francis Nichols, Baldwin, New York.*

Congratulations. We look to you to lead the fight against undemocratic policies. – *Emmy Lou Packard, Edward Corbett, Ray Etigson, San Francisco, California.*

I can't think of any more courageous speech in all American history. – *Wayne Andrews, New York City.*

I am heartily in favor of your stand against the Truman policy. – *Seymour Kaplan, Brooklyn, New York.*

Encouraged and inspired by your words of wisdom. All real Americans look to you for leadership in this crisis. – *E. E. Burkhart, Chicago, Illinois.*

Congratulations on a courageous speech. – *Mr. and Mrs. Flores, Madison, Wisconsin.*

We wish to express our heartiest thanks. It is a wonderful feeling to know someone is crusading for the people. – *Council of American Women of Croatian Descent, Detroit, Michigan.*

Thank you for your wonderful talk. I am wholeheartedly in favor of your solution for the world's ills. – *Morris Kaplan, Brooklyn, New York.*

Your plain talking is what the great majority of American people want. I hope you can rebroadcast that talk as often as possible. – *William Denmark, New York City.*

No decent American can fail to applaud your speech. – *Esther Shapiro, Detroit, Michigan.*

Thank you for the first 15 minutes without fear that I have had since the President's speech. – *Loudie Clair, New York City.*

It is thrilling to hear the first voice since Roosevelt died speaking up in a forthright, definite manner. – *Elizabeth Trask, Tom Van Dycke, Ben Rinaldo, New York City.*

Congratulations on your excellent reply to President Truman. We support your ideals. – *United Committee of South Slavic Americans of Detroit, Michigan.*

May your speech help to awaken the people and their representatives. – *Moses Ascher, New York City.*

Your speech fills us with hope. – *Ernest and Amelia Deutch, New York City.*

Congratulations. We pledge our full support of your policies for peace and world stability. – *The Croatian-American Council of Michigan, Detroit, Michigan.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KETTI SHALOM IS DEAD

. . . a victim of martial law

Ketti Shalom died in a hospital in Jerusalem on Sunday, March 2, 1947. She was shot in the back of the head. Ketti was just a little girl, only four years old. She did not know very much about the world, excepting that it was a place where the sun was friendly, and you had a favorite uncle who brought you presents, and all good little girls said their prayers at bedtime.

Ketti Shalom will say her prayers no more. But people of good-will everywhere will say a prayer for her tiny soul tonight. And brave young men will take new courage, make new resolutions to continue a fight so that little children need not be afraid to go out on a balcony, so that small bodies can grow up strong and straight and happy and free—just like in this wonderful America of ours.

Ketti Shalom is dead. Your prayers cannot bring her back to Jerusalem. But your dollars can help save the lives of thousands of other children like her. Your dollars can help a relentless fighting force—built of the same hardy stuff and filled with the same inspiration as those freedom-loving "rebels" of 1776—march on to liberation. Ketti's last name, Shalom, by the way, means peace in Hebrew. There can be no peace when people are under the heels of an oppressor.

★PALESTINE RESISTANCE COMMITTEE

Konrad Bercovici	Cortez A. M. Ewing	Joseph L. Morse
Congressman Charles A. Buckley	Waldo Frank	Constantine Panunzio
Sophonisba P. Breckinridge	Frances Gunther	Congressman Andrew L. Somers
Taylor Caldwell	Ben Hecht	Moses Soyer
Lester Cohen	Nathan George Horwitt	R. Cowles Taylor
Paul Eldridge	Alfred Kreymborg	Bishop John C. White, D.D.
Mordecai Danzis	Yasuo Kuniyoshi	Lin Yutang

WILL YOU HELP?

The Underground Fighters need bandages, penicillin, surgical instruments, underground hospitals. Money is needed by the families of fighters . . . fighters who are actively resisting, fighters who are in prison, in concentration camps, in exile. . . . The Palestine Resistance Committe is the only organization authorized to collect funds for the relief of these Active Fighters. Give a dollar, a hundred dollars, a thousand dollars! Give all you can . . . but now!

The Palestine Resistance Committee has compiled a comprehensive and factual presentation of the political crisis in Palestine today . . . the aims of the Underground Resistance . . . the policy of the British administration in Palestine. We will be glad to send you this booklet without obligation.

HELP Palestine Resistance

PALESTINE RESISTANCE COMMITTEE
John J. Rosner, Executive Chairman
123 West 44th St., Suite 304, New York 18, N. Y.
Phone: BRyant 9-4691—2

Enclosed is my contribution of $..... in support of the fight for freedom in Palestine.

☐ I would be interested in reading the booklet published by the Palestine Resistance Committee.

NAME.....

STREET.....

CITY..... STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

The Knickerbocker

— offers you a restful vacation —

Good books, good music, good food, American-Jewish style; low rates, ice skating, skiing.

We invite your inquiries.

West Copake, N. Y. — Tel. 57R4

plum point
vacation fun, by the river
on the majestic Hudson
• seasonal sports
• delicious food
• gay informality
55 MILES FROM NYC • NEW WINDSOR, NY • NEWBURGH 4270

CAMP

STAMMERERS

SUMMER CAMP

Daily corrective work combined with planned recreation in a new, stimulating environment—is speech therapy at its best and results in poise and fluent speech.

CHILDREN—Adults, Special Section
Correction of all Speech Defects

CHARLES PELLMAN
78 WEST 55 STREET
Room 5, New York City
Cl. 6-3321—If No Answer Cl. 7-2559

SCHOOL

LAKEWOOD MODERN SCHOOL
115 Carey Street Lakewood, New Jersey
Phone Lakewood 0-1007

Progressive boarding school. Boys and Girls 7-12. Non-sectarian. Small study groups. Intimate, home-like atmosphere. Personal supervision. Good food. Healthy surroundings. Situated in the Pine Belt of New Jersey. Outdoor activities. Beach trips. All sports. Booklet. Write James & Nellie Dick, Directors

N. B. Reservations are now in order for camp season. (July and August)

PERIODICALS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS simply by asking me for them; any number in one order. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NR, free. John Crehore, Walpole, N. H.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING ANALYSIS
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0958
Recognized by hospitals, doctors, psychologists, schools; employed by firms and industries. Lessons by appointment only. Marital education, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $8.00.

Cut me out

•

Become a "Henry Wallace Subscription Agent." Earn extra money selling *New Republic* subscriptions. Write now for details.

Dept. LA
The NEW REPUBLIC
40 E. 49 St., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

We heartily applaud your radio talk. – *Alda Raulen and 10 co-signers, New York City.*

You have spoken for millions of us. Please keep it up. – *Leonard Karp, New York City.*

A magnificent, stirring and fighting speech. – *Jim Lecron, Berkeley, California.*

You have made a great speech. More power to you. – *Lester Cohen, Doylestown, Pennsylvania.*

You lead and we will follow. You spoke for us. – *Lucy and Max Wilkes, New York City.*

Congratulations. We support your proposal for building and preserving world peace. – *Charles and Olga Narich, Highland Park Michigan.*

Never since we last heard Roosevelt in wartime has any voice brought to our household such courage and comfort. – *Augustus Richards, Remsen, New York.*

Congratulations on your stand. Keep on fighting. Millions of Americans are with you. – *Calvin Brook, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.*

I am in full accord with your radio speech and will back you 100 percent. – *Carl Domeny, Detroit, Michigan.*

Congratulations. I heartily endorse your ideas. – *Helen Whelan, Pleasant Ridge, Michigan.*

Your speech was great. Please send a copy airmail and we will distribute it. – *Orville Olson, Minneapolis, Minnesota.*

We will endorse your policy and have sent a telegram saying so to the President. – *Frances Kroll and 11 co-signers, Long Island City, New York.*

Gives us hope that true democratic ideas are not dead. – *Kathryn Irvine, Old Greenwich, Connecticut.*

Your speech last night gave us real leadership. – *Hannah Dorner, New York City.*

I am writing to WNBC asking for a rebroadcast. – *Dorothy Howells, New York City.*

Congratulations again to one who always has the courage to voice his opinion. – *Gertrude Friedman, Flushing, New York.*

Thanks for raising your courageous voice in protest against Truman's new course. – *Raymond Puret, New York City.*

Your speech last night was the best yet. Keep up the good work. – *Samuel Sage, Detroit, Michigan.*

You have sounded the keynote for American liberals as once you inspired the world with your Century of the Common Man speech. – *Sidney Roger, San Francisco, California.*

Congratulations on a splendid speech in the best tradition of Franklin D. Roosevelt. – *Louis Goldblatt, San Franciso, California.*

I commend your courageous stand. – *Richard Lewis, San Francisco, California.*

Your broadcast should have been heard by millions. – *Morris Rosenfeld, Denver, Colorado.*

Congratulations on your courageous, patriotic speech. We urge that it be printed in millions of copies. – *Mr. and Mrs. Elliott Maraniss, Detroit, Michigan.*

Bandwagon

Drop That Crystal Ball!

Former President Herbert Hoover, it was reported today, told a group of Senators at a private meeting that the United States has too many troops in Germany for police purposes and too few to offset any possible Russian military move. – *AP dispatch from Washington.*

The Black Knight

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Killaloe [Dr. Fogarty] in his Lenten pastoral letter, says: ". . . The chief object of Soviet ambition just now is the destruction of Catholic Spain. For the present, they say they want only the removal of General Franco, that able and fearless man, under whose guidance, I am told by Spanish residents, the people of Spain are happy and doing well." – *From the Manchester (England)* Guardian.

Is Everybody Happy?

A gay fiesta day in colorful Mexico City greeted President Truman yesterday. Crowds surging to enter the national stadium trampled two persons to death and injured four others. – *From the* Daily Collegian *(Pennsylvania State College).*

Plug

He is partial to federal prisons, he said, because there is more security in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you are a subscriber tell your friends about this offer

still as scarce as new housing . . .

We're "up a tree" same as you! The ever-rising circulation of the New Republic places quite a strain on the available paper supply—which is still as hard to find as new housing. That's why it must be *first come, first served* for new subscribers. There is still an opportunity for you to place your order . . . and become an important part of our huge audience of thinking men and women who read the New Republic regularly. Mail the coupon below. Brings you weeks of thought-provoking articles—exciting news.

New Republic
40 E. 49 St., New York 17, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription. I enclose ☐ $6 for one year. ☐ $2 for special 24-week introductory offer. (Canadian and Foreign $7 a year, 24 weeks, $2.50)

Name _____

Address _____

City & Zone _____

State _____

2-24-47

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POSITIONS WANTED

WEAVING—Art teacher; M.A. Columbia University wishes summer vacation position. Services available June 1. Box 895, The New Republic.

SKILLED WRITER, reporter, lecturer, and liberal desires any position promoting labor, peace, freedom. Former war correspondent. Newspaper, fiction, teaching, lecturing, publicity and promotion experience. Veteran. Box 902, The New Republic.

EX-PAC Asst. Public Relations Director with magazine and newspaper experience seeks position with aggressive organization. Box 901, The New Republic.

HELP WANTED

SECRETARY, Typing, shorthand, bookkeeping, assume responsibility for office details, 40-hour week, board and lodging plus salary. Apply Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee.

RESEARCH

YOUR FACTFINDER: investigates any problem. Broad experience, science, sociology, psychology. Research, abstracts, translations, European-American background. Fee or share of profit. Box 867, The New Republic.

STENOTYPE REPORTING

VETERAN—Conferences, Conventions, Legal. Harry Birnbaum, OLinville 2-5827.

BOOKS

BOOKS: USED, RARE OR OUT-OF-PRINT TAAB, 529 S. Melville St., Philadelphia 43, Pa.

LANGUAGES

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian, uish, Portuguese — Direct conversational od of mastering any language quickly, y, correctly at home. Available under GI f Rights. Send for FREE book. LINGUANE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New , CI 7-0830.

CURRIES

HOW TO MAKE GOOD CURRIES: Your request with a 3¢ stamp will bring you our Recipe Booklet of precise Indian recipes for making curries of chicken, lamb, shrimp and vegetables. Learn the simple principles of using this condiment; it changes ordinary foods into new and delightful dishes. **Java-India Condiment Co., Importers, 442 Hudson Street, New York 14, N. Y.**

REAL ESTATE

AT Grand Central Terminal. Commodore Hotel: opposite Chrysler Building, 139 East 43rd St. Four stories; about 5,000 square feet; immediate possession; priceless permanent home office or sales location. $100,000 cash. Owner: L. N. Rosenbaum & Sons, 565 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

CITY LIVING, BUT COUNTRY CHARM! Completely modernized farmhouse, fifty acres brook-watered woodland, paved road, outskirts neighborly village, mountain scenery, good hunting, fishing. Ideal for writer, artist, retirement or just plain living. $6000. Box 900, The New Republic.

FARMS & ACREAGE

BERKSHIRE Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y. Farms and estates. Masschusetts-New York Berkshires (Tanglewood Country). Consulting broker for organizations.

CIGARETTES

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.45 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

BONDED MESSENGERS
Courteous, fast, reasonable. Specializing in **PUBLISHING, ADVERTISING, TRAVEL PUBLICITY.** Since 1936. **Allied Messenger Service, Main Office, 9 Rockefeller Plaza,** COlumbus 5-4324—5—6.

side of them and living conditions there approximate those in a "first-class hotel." – *From the Denver* Post

Going Up!

Tomorrow's Events: 8:30 p.m.—Illustrated lecture, "Getting Close to Heaven in Cool Colorado," by Sam Campbell, lecturer at Kiel Auditorium Opera House. – *From the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch.

"In the Queen's Navee"

Lieutenant John Thomas Wardle of the Royal Navy was dismissed from his ship, penalized three months' seniority in rank and severely reprimanded by a court martial today for eating Christmas dinner with five enlisted men.

Lieutenant Wardle's defense was that only the six of them were aboard the motor minesweeper that day and it was impractical to hold separate messes. – *UP dispatch from Rosyth, England.*

Any Suggestions?

The [University Young Republican] club spent some time in discussing methods of counteracting its reputation for being reactionary. It was decided that the best means of accomplishing this would be by action. – *From the Madison (Wisconsin)* Capital Times.

Vote for Throttlebottom

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., Republican of Massachusetts, an Army veteran, suggested that the peril of atomic warfare might justify electing two Vice Presidents and keeping one of them out of the Washington area in case it is bombed. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Perish Forbid!

"It has come to the attention of this office that you are living with your wife," the billeting office stated in a letter to an American captain recently, after his American wife moved in with him. "This must cease at once," the letter added firmly. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Letter of the Week

(Continued from page 3)

the old feudal system of this rich island. Until World War I the attitude of the sugar, coffee and tobacco plantation owners was, give the Negro enough to eat and a place to sleep and that's all he asks.

The strange thing was that the Jamaican Negro never resented this. Or if he did, he had no way of implementing his resentment, no organization, no leadership. Leadership came in the person of Alexander Bustamente. He preached passive resistance to the native workers, and this took the form of successive strikes—some of which were attended by violence. Bustamente was elected to the Legislative Council and became the leader of the now well organized Jamaica Labor Party, which includes not only blacks but "non-Europeans" of many racial blends.

A legislative council in a British Crown Colony is pretty much a yes-man body. Part of it is elected, but the majority is appointed by the Governor-General, who can veto anything. He is, in effect, an autocrat, and the measure of his autocracy is simply the measure of the man himself and of his personal views on every question affecting all the people of the colony.

This outmoded colonial system is in a fair way to be abolished in dark-dominated Jamaica. Three years ago the colony was given its first constitution. The British Crown granted it as a sop to the popular movement in Jamaica, though that movement is more economic than political. The constitution yielded much that Bustamente was fighting for. By far the most important gain was universal suffrage, which gives to every Jamaican over 21, male or female, the unqualified right to vote for members of Jamaica's House of Representatives.

Now this body itself is unique in British Crown Colonial administration. It acts as a check and an offset to the Governor's Legislative Council. It is something like the lower House in Congress, and is entirely elective. In it Bustamente's Jamaica Labor Party, which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STAGE PLAYS

2 PERFECT COMEDY TREATS
MAX GORDON productions
"A completely satisfying and enjoyable comedy." —Chapman, News
FREDRIC MARCH FLORENCE ELDRIDGE
In the new smash hit
YEARS AGO
by RUTH GORDON
Staged by GARSON KANIN
MANSFIELD THEATRE

"A very funny play, brilliantly written, acted & staged."—Garland, Jour.-Am.
BORN YESTERDAY
The Hilarious Comedy Smash
by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEATRE, NEW YORK
ERLANGER THEATRE, CHICAGO

"A Musical Sparkler!"—WALTER WINCHELL
MELVYN DOUGLAS & HERMAN LEVIN present
CALL ME MISTER
The Nation's Top Musical Revue
Music and Lyrics by HAROLD J. ROME
Sketches by ARNOLD AUERBACH
Production directed by ROBERT H. GORDON
NEW YORK—NATIONAL THEATRE with JANE KEAN
TORONTO—ALEXANDRA THEA. with BETTY KEAN
"Broadway's Biggest Revue Hit!"—LIFE MAG.

MOTION PICTURE

"MAGNIFICENT!" N.Y.Times, Trib., P.M., Cue!
ARTKINO presents EISENSTEIN'S
IVAN
The TERRIBLE
Stanley 7th AVE. bet. 42 & 41 STS.
DOORS OPEN 9:45 A. M.

NO
Greek Loan!
Mass Protest Meeting
March 24, 8 p.m.
HOTEL DIPLOMAT
108 WEST 43rd STREET
Send Contributions to
AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR A DEMOCRATIC GREECE
152 West 42nd Street WI 7-3072

also has the strongest representation in the elected part of the council, is dominant.

The constitution was granted, however, only for a "trial period" of five years. Three have passed and in two more the position will be reviewed by the British government. Both legislative bodies in the island will then vote on the matter of continuance. If the vote is adverse—and it will be if the efforts of the whites of Jamaica prevail—general suffrage will be abolished and native labor's gains will be largely lost.

IF THIS happens, there is almost sure to be trouble. The blacks of Jamaica, following a short period of influence they never had before in the island's history, are "feeling their oats." In other words, they have developed not only a political but a social consciousness which, instead of being snuffed out by a coup engineered by a white minority, would be intensified—and intensified to the point of creating just such a race problem as exists in the US.

At present there is no more master-and-servant in Jamaica—that is to say, on the old feudal scale. The attitude of the Negro or part-Negro helper in the white home is exactly that of the same class in the United States. The dock-worker, who now earns as much as $40 a week, compared to the $12 or $15 he made a few years ago, is no longer the cringing coolie of yesterday. Nor is the plantation laborer, whose former half-starvation pay of 50 cents a day has been increased to $2 and $3—reasonable enough in view of the 100-percent increase in the cost of living.

The trouble is—and here labor's position is being weakened because of the important decision that is to come two years hence—that further economic gains are constantly being demanded. Bustamente himself is showing signs of wanting to match the achievements of Toussaint l'Overture, in Haiti, where dark dominance once became a tyranny. If this happens in Jamaica it will set back the whole case of black social and economic emancipation, not only in Jamaica but throughout the West Indies.

Kingston, Jamaica MARC T. GREENE

MOTION PICTURES

RKO NOW

MANHATTAN
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
Bet. Lex. & 3rd
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.
BRONX
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL
WESTCHESTER
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

"EXPERT CAST & DIRECTION." —N. Y. World-Telegram
IDA LUPINO
Robert ALDA Andrea KING
Bruce BENNETT
'THE MAN I LOVE'
Directed by RAOUL WALSH
From MARITTA WOLFF Novel
—AND—
'THE VERDICT'
SYDNEY GREENSTREET
PETER LORRE JOAN LORRING
From Novel by ISRAEL ZANGWILL

BROOKLYN
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island
QUEENS
MIDWAY
Forest Hills
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL
STRAND
Far Rockaway
MANHATTAN
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"REAL AND EXCITING."—PM
HENRY FONDA
VICTOR MATURE
LINDA DARNELL
'My Darling Clementine'
Adapted from
STUART N. LAKE'S Book
—AND—
'WAKE UP AND DREAM'
June HAVER • John PAYNE
Based on ROBERT NATHAN'S Novel

RKO ALBEE FULTON & DeKALB BROOKLYN 2nd Week
"INTENSELY MOVING."—New York Post
JIMMY STEWART
DONNA REED in FRANK CAPRA'S
'IT'S A WONDERFUL LIFE'
—AND—
'SAN QUENTIN'
LAWRENCE TIERNEY • MARION CARR

BOB HOPE
DOROTHY LAMOUR
IN PARAMOUNT'S
'My Favorite Brunette'
IN PERSON
JIMMY DORSEY AND HIS ORCHESTRA
PAT HENNING • Lyn Shirley
LOUIS JORDAN AND HIS TYMPANY FIVE
NOW TIMES SQUARE PARAMOUNT Midnight Feature Nightly

Buy More Bonds

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MEMBERS WHO BOUGHT THE FIRST 5 BOOKS RECEIVED

$27.45 worth of books for only $14.75

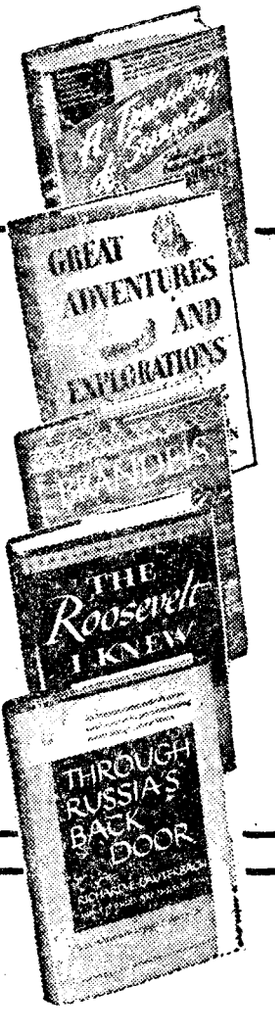
YOU SAVE BY JOINING THE

nonfiction BOOK CLUB

Membership in this book club costs you nothing, but it helps you avoid wasting time and money on books which become dust collectors after only *one* reading. If you read to stop time, not to kill time, subscribe now and get the best new books . . . the books you will *reread* and remember . . . *at a saving!*

FREE ☛ TO NEW MEMBERS ANY ONE OF THESE SELECTIONS

Every new member receives a bonus book of his choice free, and another free dividend book with each 4 selections purchased. The current free bonus book is the new revised and enlarged edition of A TREASURY OF SCIENCE, edited by *Harlow Shapley*. 772 pages, $3.95. (Free to members as a bonus book or at $3.00 as a regular selection.) If you prefer, you may substitute any one of the other selections shown at right as your free bonus book.



THE BEST BOOKS AT LESS COST

Though the kind of books chosen for the *Nonfiction Book Club* are usually priced at $3.00 to $5.00, *members will never have to pay more than $3.00 for any selection.* You pay less than the published price, if the book is over $3.00, and no more than the published price if it is $3.00 or less. A small charge is added to cover mailing expenses. Note savings up to 40% on books shown at right.

A TREASURY OF SCIENCE *by Harlow Shapley.* $3.95 (*$3.00 to members*).
THE ROOSEVELT I KNEW *by Frances Perkins.* $3.75 (*$3.00 to members*).
GREAT ADVENTURES AND EXPLORATIONS *by Vilhjalmur Stefansson,* $5.00 (*$3.00 to members*).
BRANDEIS: A Free Man's Life *by A. T. Mason,* $5.00 (*$3.00 to members*).
THROUGH RUSSIA'S BACK DOOR *by R. E. Lauterbach,* $2.75.

THE BOOKS ARE SELECTED BY A DISTINGUISHED BOARD OF JUDGES

LEWIS GANNETT
Daily Book Reviewer of the *New York Herald Tribune.*

JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON
Book review editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle.*

DR. KIRTLEY F. MATHER
Professor of Geology at *Harvard University.*

MAIL THIS COUPON NOW! **No money required at this time.** A limited number of free bonus books are available for charter subscribers. To avoid disappointment, fill out and return this coupon today. **You take no risk.**

MEMBERSHIP IS FREE. Just sign and mail the coupon. At the beginning of each month you receive a free copy of the 24-page illustrated magazine, *Nonfiction Book News,* with prepublication reports on forthcoming selections, and news of other important new books. If the Nonfiction choice is a book you want, you do nothing. It will be mailed to you on the 21st of the month. Otherwise, you simply tell us (*before the 21st*) to send some other book, or none at all, on the form supplied.

NO OBLIGATION. Purchase of the monthly selections is entirely voluntary. You remain a member in good standing by accepting as few as 4 of the 12 selections offered each year, and you can cancel your subscription any time after purchasing 4 selections.

NONFICTION BOOK CLUB, Inc., 257 4th Av., N. Y. 10

Please enroll me as a member. I am to receive, *free,* one of the selections shown above. For every 4 selections purchased I am to receive, *free,* the current book dividend. I agree to accept at least 4 selections during each year. You will notify me of each selection, by way of the free monthly magazine, so that I may refuse it if I wish. Free bonus book will be sent with first selection.

Name.....
Please PRINT plainly

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

J 5

Send me as my FREE bonus book:
- ☐ TREASURY OF SCIENCE
- ☐ ROOSEVELT I KNEW
- ☐ GREAT ADVENTURES
- ☐ BRANDEIS
- ☐ THROUGH RUSSIA'S BACK DOOR

Start my subscription with:
- ☐ TREASURY OF SCIENCE, $3.00
- ☐ ROOSEVELT I KNEW, $3.00
- ☐ GREAT ADVENTURES, $3.00
- ☐ BRANDEIS, $3.00
- ☐ THROUGH RUSSIA'S BACK DOOR, $2.75
- ☐ I will make my first selection after receiving your magazine

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED